

# THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—BRITISH ELOQUENCE.

*Select British Eloquence: embracing the best Speeches entire, of the most eminent Orators of Great Britain, for the last Two Centuries, with Sketches of their Lives, &c.* By CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D. D. 1 vol. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852.

BRITISH and American Eloquence sustain, toward each other, the obvious and interesting relation of mother and daughter. Has the child proved untoward, or the parent unjust? No well-disposed and well-informed mind would gravely make, as we think, either allegation. British polity may have been but too often Anti-American; but this is quite a different matter. In the most notorious instance of this, the quarrel that terminated in the Revolution, British Eloquence, in its best displays, was not the advocate of that polity. In the noble efforts of a Chatham, a Burke, and a Col. Barré\*—(a trio unequalled on the other side) it was de-

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\* As neither Professor Goodrich nor Lord Brougham have given the prominence to this friend of America he deserves—part of his celebrated reply to Mr. C. Townshend may be quoted in support of the above remark. The Minister had spoken of the Americans as “ungrateful children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms,” &c. “They planted by your care!” exclaimed Col. B. “No; your oppressions planted them in America! They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to all the hardships to which human nature is liable; among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe; \* \* \* and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their native

cidedly for us; and, in the result, it taught Americans to think and speak for themselves—started to his feet a Patrick Henry; clothed with thunder-tones the tongues and pens of the First Congress; and soon suggested a kindred hope with that of the Czar Peter, when, at first repulsed by the Swedes, he exclaimed: “My brother Charles *may teach* me to beat him!”

The able work of Professor Goodrich will assist us, we trust, to estimate, with his own kindness and discrimination, these maternal claims. If, like our own Eloquence, that of Great Britain has to mourn its many “mighty fallen;” if, at this juncture, neither country has its parliamentary leaders of equal power with those who “wielded at will” its destinies, half a century ago—neither is British Eloquence in its dotage, nor our own in its infancy; and while we have no space to follow out the comparison, it will naturally suggest itself to every reader of taste—that the sweet and grave dignity of a matronly countenance is never so happily placed on canvas, as when beside it smiles the bloom of youth. It is rivalry without opposition, and illustration more than contrast. Thus may the Eloquence and all the cherished excellencies of these two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race appear on the page of history *in perpetuo*!

Some few of the distinguished speakers of this volume have delighted us personally—in the inspiring time and place of the delivery of their best speeches. Shall we be pardoned in adding that to *have lived through* the stirring times and scenes that originated half the volume, when every year revolved amid the storms and shouts that shook a civilized world, as it never before had been shaken, (shouts and storms, every one of which reverberated through the Parliament of England,) makes to live with us again, in the ashes of these speeches, all their original fires, and suggests, irresistibly, a host of illustrative circumstances. These times *created* the great men whose voices alone could be heard above the din; and in the success or failure of their measures, but above all, in the unparalleled elevations and defeat of modern ambition on the neighboring continent, give the interest of centuries to years.

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land, from those who should have been their friends. ‘*They nourished by your indulgence*!’—They grew by your neglect of them! As soon as you began to care about them that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this House—sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my knowledge were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own!”



We observe, with pleasure, that our Professor fully acknowledges the "kith and kin" of American and British Oratory, placing in his preface, Chatham, Burke, &c., "at the head of *our* eloquence," and calling Erskine (rather extravagantly, as we think) "the greatest of our forensic orators." But we are a little surprised at his omission of some names. If, departing from the line of spoken Eloquence, we have the greater part of Junius' Letters, why not some specimens of the transcendent Jeremy Taylor, or the accurate and copious Barrow, whom Chatham "read and re-read" to acquire his diction? So, while in the line of legal Eloquence we have Curran and Mackintosh, why not Sir William Grant and Romilly? The former distinguished for all "the [rare] graces of a *judge's* oratory,"\* or Judicial Eloquence; the latter for speeches "both forensic and parliamentary, nearly unrivaled in excellence." "No man argued more closely when the understanding was to be addressed; no man declaimed more powerfully when indignation was to be aroused or the feelings moved."† And how could our Professor overlook Mr. *Wilberforce*—among the first masters of persuasive and pathetic eloquence? Wit, too, as he truly was—sage and saint.‡

Sacred British Eloquence does not yield to this volume a single name, unless that of the obscure Lord Belhaven, from whom we have a speech on the Legislative Union of England and Scotland, may be taken for one! He is, in his own phrase, "a true blue Presbyterian," and has melancholy forebodings of the ruin of the Church of Scotland, from her voluntary descent, at that time, to a level with Jews, Arminians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries—but it is to us for a marvel, that Dr. Goodrich should have dismissed all the British claims of his own profession to Eloquence in this way. He disposes of that profession with the "hope" that this volume may prove "peculiarly useful to it, since nothing is more desirable at the present day than a larger infusion

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\* Brougham's Sketches, Art. *Grant*.

† Id. *Romilly*.

‡ There was a happy mixture of all these traits of character. When a well known, popular member thought fit to designate him repeatedly as *the honorable and religious gentleman*, because he felt indignant that any one in the British Senate should deem piety a matter of imputation, he poured out a strain of sarcasm which none who heard it can forget. A common friend of the parties having remarked to Sir S. Romilly that this greatly outmatched Pitt himself, the great master of sarcasm, the reply was: "Yes, it is the most striking thing I ever heard; but I look upon it as a more singular proof of Wilberforce's virtue than of his genius; for who but he ever was possessed of such a formidable weapon and never used it?"—Id. *Wilberforce*.

into our sacred Eloquence of the freedom, boldness, and strength which distinguish our secular oratory." Agreed, say we; but is this the only, or after all, *the best* source at which to imbibe these qualities for the pulpit? Has not Sacred Eloquence high and appropriate claims of its own to them? If Chatham went to Barrow, and Blair to Atterbury, for some of their best lessons in Eloquence, why should our young clergymen know Barrow only through Chatham, or Atterbury through Blair? With all her faults, the Church of England, in her sermons and sermonizers, has done her best service to England—not to speak of the divines of the churches of Scotland and Ireland, and the whole body of Dissenters—"for the last Two Centuries." British Pulpit Eloquence, as such, may challenge comparison with anything contained in the volume before us, we submit; and has moved the world, left impressions on earthly society not to be effaced—far beyond those that remain of these men. "I consider Wesley's," says Southey to Wilberforce, "as the most influential mind of the last century." We may not enlarge this comparison here; but Professor Goodrich's title-page seemed (thus far) to suggest it.

This work might have been entitled, *The Parliamentary Eloquence of England*. With the exception of the pages devoted to Junius, "Extracts" from the writings of some of the speakers, a few speeches at the bar of Lord Erskine, and one each of Sir James Mackintosh and Lord Brougham, it is confined to that species of British Oratory. While this does not affect the positive merits of the work, it makes it needful to bear in mind: 1. That Parliament is a peculiar field of oratory, and that during the period when these speeches were delivered it was still more so than it now is. It admitted, and even required, a much loftier style of Eloquence (the result of high and general scholarship with the least possible obtrusion of it) than it has done of late years, or than any other field of oratory ever demanded. The audience was select and befitting. Very few of these speeches were delivered, even in the House of Commons, for the constituency of the House. Mr. Burke lost his seat for Bristol, in 1780, because he would not be "instructed" by his constituents. His own fine language is: "I am to look indeed to your opinions, but to such opinions as you and I must have five years hence. I was not to look at the flash of the day. I knew that you chose me, in my place, along with others, to be a pillar of the State, and not a weathercock on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every

fashionable gale." It would be a perverted and misguided taste which should select them for general, and more particularly for pulpit, imitation. 2. Within the memory of many observers, much of this change has taken place. Effective Parliamentary Eloquence must now not only be "less redolent of the lamp" than it once was, but practical, business-like, and confined mainly to what the speaker has some real pretensions to know better than other men. The most admired of the speeches here inserted (Sheridan's celebrated Begum Speech, half of those delivered on the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the greater part of the later speeches of Burke himself) would not now be tolerated in either House. A young man, occasionally a literary man of high standing, is soon enlightened upon this subject. In a maiden speech, that oratorical display, to which many parts of this volume might tempt him, is indorsed, perhaps; then it is coughed down, and mortifyingly demonstrated to be utterly obsolete. 3. Since the recognized introduction of able and regular reporters, while we obtain more accurate versions of the best, we have absolutely no knowledge of the inferior speakers of either House, as such. A leading and very effective member of "Her Majesty's Opposition" may have hardly a superior high school boy's knowledge of rhetoric, as the basis of his oratory, and be accustomed to finding his speeches read so well in the public prints, the morning after they are delivered, that he will persevere with impunity in violating the Queen's English. We could produce curious evidence to the point, in the case of a popular leader of opposition through the last three reigns. To this day he is a most useful member of the Commons' House; one who really serves his country well there, but who, as an orator, could serve her in no other field, for he can not write or speak grammatically; but he "knows the House," and the House him.

To come as quickly as possible to the end of our fault-finding, (for *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*,) Professor Goodrich, as we think, greatly overrates the Letters of Junius. Admired as they must ever be for comparative purity of diction and epigrammatic point, their claim to being considered as a standard of eloquence, has always been disputed. Dr. Blair, who published his well-known Lectures on Rhetoric a few years after Junius appeared, does not mention him; he is *read* less and less, as the characters he assaulted take their true place in history. For he was the creature altogether of the times in which he appeared—times of peculiar royal weakness, ministerial corruption, and political anarchy. The British empire was in the throes of—



dissolution. There was not a single great and honest man, after Lord Chatham was driven from office, to guide her affairs. At such a period those affairs invited forward the Mohawk qualities of a Junius' mind: and he is to be held up to the young as a striking instance of the importance of that rule in rhetoric, (and, of course, in eloquence, which Professor Goodrich, by the way, never properly distinguishes from it,) "Have a clear self-conviction of the truth and value of an argument." Junius is characteristically reckless of truth. His forte is personal invective; and he never ascertains, as it was his first duty to do, the true demerits of those upon whom it falls. He is forcible, chiefly because he is always unscrupulous, and can venture to strike hard, only because he knows he strikes in the dark. He is self-convicted of instructing his printer to lie for him, in one paper, respecting the authorship of a letter of his which appeared the day before, because it contained some coarse expressions;\* and was alike and entirely mistaken (*i. e.* indefensibly slanderous) respecting the private character of George III., which he attacks very distinctly from his public character; in his cruel charge against the Duke of Bedford, respecting indifference to the death of his son; and in his attempt to convict Lord Mansfield of bad law and bad motives. He is not merely a mistaken judge, he says, but "a bad man;" and he fails to prove either. Professor Goodrich can scarcely have consulted the complete edition of Junius, by Woodfall, (published in 1814,) or he would have seen how grossly, under other signatures, this writer had abused Lord Chatham as "*a man purely and perfectly bad*;" "*a black villain*;" "*who had led a life of artifice, intrigue, and hypocrisy*"—that same Lord Chatham whom he, as Junius, eulogizes. It is his malice that points his style.

On the whole, we conclude with Lord Brougham, who has thoroughly examined all Junius' pretensions, that his moral character will best account for the pertinacity with which he kept his secret. He would not appear in society, in his proper person, because he was conscious that, once known, he would be driven out of it. He was "a shallow, violent, and unprincipled writer." His style, Lord B. estimates, as "far from being a correct one—further still from being good, pure English†—prized far above its value," only because he could sacrifice just and amiable characters "to the morbid taste for slander, steeped in epigram."‡ But his Letters

\* See Note, p. 166 of the work before us.

† Sketches, *Mansfield*.

‡ Ibid. *John Fourth Duke of Bedford*.



will, in no view of them, prove what our Professor assumes—that he “*was* an orator, undoubtedly, in public life.” They were not written to be spoken; and imply not oratorical power, at all, but rhetorical.\*

It seems to us important that a wide distinction should be made between these powers. The young student who is naturally gifted for an orator will always imagine, too soon, that the power of persuasion, or convincing argument, is his also. The mere rhetorician or logician will sometimes, but more rarely, suppose that he can become an orator. Each has, in this way, made mistakes that have affected all the future prospects of a life. Some very delicate points of our nature and character are involved in the estimate of a man's fitness for written or for spoken argumentation. In our literature we have remarkable instances of men who wrote admirably and convincingly, on a variety of subjects, but who could not creditably have addressed any audience for a few minutes. Addison and Cowper, perhaps Dean Swift, are cases in point. The first is reported to have said that he had, as to powers of expression, “No ready cash, but money always at the bankers.” The second was capable of writing some of the very best of English letters and argumentative (always essentially rhetorical†) poetry, but was driven into insanity by the thought of the smallest effort at public speaking before the House of Lords. His whole history abounds in proof that he could have written three-fourths of the sermons of the city ministers of his time, with more power and unction than they. Let him be compared, for a

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\* As the secret of Junius is still a vexed question of some interest, (chiefly, as we think, because the moral features of his character are so bad, that the picture ought, if possible, to be inscribed with the right name,) we refer our readers to the last “guess” at that name, in the *London Quarterly*, January, 1852. The writer thinks him to have been the second Lord Lyttleton; on these grounds: 1. That he was a man of high birth and rank. 2. Of considerable wealth. 3. Of ready access to the law and by the law. (He feels the danger of an impeachment as no ordinary Commoner of England would.) 4. He was a profligate in youth. (His illustrations are often drawn from vicious sources—abusing Lord Chatham he is obscene.) He *despises* women. 5. He is a proud man, as characteristically as Sir P. Francis was a vain man. Some of his intimate friends are quoted, who say he (Francis) *could* not have kept the secret. 6. He had everything of name and *station* to lose by its disclosure; Francis no equal honor to what might have been thus gained. 7. He had talents equal to the task; and his mysterious, sudden death (probably suicide) was the hand of one likely to bury this secret.

† That poetry may be so, in the strictest sense of the word, observe what the younger Lord Lyttleton, “one of the most commanding orators of the day,” says of Milton: “I thank you for the opinion you entertain of the accuracy of my language:—to attain a reputation for eloquence is my aim and ambition, and if I should acquire the art of adorning my thoughts with striking images, or enforcing them by commanding words, I shall be indebted for such advantages to our great British classic.”—*Letters*, (xxvi.)

moment, on this point, with Whitefield and his remaining sermons. A poor logician, with little learning and no rhetoric, (as those sermons prove,) but all orator, from the very first of his preaching, his "face" of "loving smoothness," awes Lord Bolingbroke, (a very prince among these "secular orators,") sobers David Hume, and warms Franklin into charity. None of your secular oratory could have improved him in freedom or power. On the other hand, with all deference to his appearance here, Sir James Mackintosh had no spark of "British Eloquence" in him. He read admirable and learned essays in Parliament, to empty benches. No man that could write so well ever spoke worse, or with less effect there.

Our Professor arranges his selections chronologically, beginning with a speech of Sir John Elliot, in the time of Charles I., in support of the Petition of Right. The same period yields to this volume a speech of the vacillating Earl of Digby, and another of Strafford's, on his impeachment. The true history of the latter is that of the whole period. He had talents equal to those of any of his contemporaries; understood well his country's interests; and, for a time, had great faith in truth and liberty. But the fascinations of the court and the personal solicitations of "the better Charles" were too much for him. He accepted a peerage, gave his whole soul (and it was a vigorous one) to the cause of arbitrary power, and, having taught the people how to resist, he now taught the king how to assert and to suffer for it—and how to die. No man ever exhibited more versatility of political power or political principle. We think his name more honorable to British history than that of Junius, whoever he was; in intellectual character they greatly resemble each other. He was certainly tried and sacrificed, by a perversion of all law and justice, and paid to the public more than the penalty of *his* crimes.

But with all deference, again, to Dr. Goodrich, the *star* of this period, even for oratorical talent, as well as for public virtue, (and why should we not endeavor to "select" and exhibit them in union?) was Sir Henry Vane the Younger. He resisted prelate, prince, and Protector I. and II., with a power of eloquence rarely exceeded, and a far greater consistency of principle than any equally distinguished man of his day. He is a connecting link, too, between the history of New and old England. Poor Richard Cromwell's protectorship he finished by a speech. What Sir Henry Vane could now be found to say in France—(the Richard Cromwell, Napoleon III., of *that country*, being "almost within

hearing")—"One could bear a little with *Oliver* Cromwell, though contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body, from whom he received his authority, *he* usurped the government. *His merit was so extraordinary that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to eminence by the most illustrious actions.* He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that made him their general. But as for *Richard* Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side; but did he ever draw it? And what is of more importance in this case, *is he fit* to get obedience from a mighty nation? Yet, we must recognize the man as our king, under the style of Protector! A man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, sir, it shall never be said, I made such a man my master." "This impetuous torrent swept everything before it," says Mr. Sparks;\* "oratory, genius, and the spirit of liberty, never achieved a more complete triumph."

And now, passing good Lord Belhaven, (whom we have already noticed,) we arrive at the times of Walpole. We confess that we should willingly have taken Lord Bolingbroke by the way. He made, unquestionably, some of "the best speeches" of "the last two centuries." The traditions and written testimony respecting them should have been noticed in a work like the present. They are numerous—may be traced to parties opposed alike to the minister and the man—and are as highly honorable to his talents as those respecting any name in his country's annals. Dean Swift states that "understanding men, of both parties, asserted he had never been equaled in speaking;" and the second William Pitt "desiderated" a genuine "speech of Bolingbroke" more than the recovery of all the lost literature of antiquity. There can be no doubt that he gave the impulse to all the fine oratory of the reigns of George I. and II. Mr. Burke speaks of "the rich variety of his imagery," and the "impetuous and overbearing eloquence for which he was justly admired." Our space will only allow us to refer to Lord Brougham's appendix to his "Sketches," as containing an able analysis of his merits. It is full of valuable thought as to their sources. Let us add, in justice to our Professor, that an entire authentic speech of this great orator does not

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\* American Biography, vol. iv., Art. *Sir Henry Vane*.



remain; but his written works are extensive, and passages "admirably fitted for spoken eloquence" abound there.

Wyndham's, Sir Robert Walpole's, and even Lord Chesterfield's\* speeches prove the truth of Dr. Goodrich's remark, that "we shall find but little in the leading orators of Walpole's day that was lofty or imposing." But Sir Robert was an able and, in the whole, a worthy Peace Minister. He was at the head of the government longer than any modern statesman, finally defeated all the efforts of the Stuart party, and "held the House of Brunswick on the throne." His hypothetical attack on Bolingbroke is said to have driven the latter from the country. It will be a specimen of the powers and position of both. Out of Parliament, in virtue of his impeachment, and only tolerated in the country by an act of grace on the part of the king, Lord B. had been now the known leader of Opposition for ten years.

"Now, sir, let me suppose, too—and the house being cleared, I am sure not one that hears me can come within the description of the person I suppose. Let us suppose, in this or in some other unfortunate country, an *Anti-minister*, who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and of so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs, and therefore christens every other gentleman who has the honor to be employed in the administration, by the name of 'Blunderer.' Suppose this fine gentleman, lucky enough to have gained to his party some persons really of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes; and others, of desperate views, arising from disappointed and malicious hearts;—all these gentlemen, with respect to their political behavior, moved by him, and by him solely; all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into their mouths, and a spitting out of that venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any, even of those

\* We never supposed Chesterfield's character to be one of sterling worth, but thought that he stood higher with his contemporaries, as a man of fine manners, than would appear from some late disclosures. Here is an "amusing specimen," as it has been truly said, "of the way in which the great men of Opposition were spoken of in the court of George II."

The king and queen being told by Lord Hervey that he knew three people who were then writing the history of their reign, "You mean," said the king, "Lord Chesterfield, Bolingbroke, and Carteret." "I do," replied Hervey. "Then," said his majesty, "they will all three have about as much truth in them as the *Mille et une Nuits*. Not but that I should like to read Bolingbroke's, who, of all these knaves and rascals who have been lying about me these ten years, has certainly the best parts and the most knowledge. He is a scoundrel, but a scoundrel of a higher class than Chesterfield. Chesterfield is a little tea-table scoundrel, that tells little womanish lies to make quarrels in families, and tries to make women lose their reputations and make their husbands beat them, without any object but to give himself airs—as if any body could believe a woman could like such a *dwarf baboon*." The queen then said: "The three histories must be three heaps of lies, but of very different kinds; Bolingbroke's would be great lies, Chesterfield's little lies, and Carteret's lies of both sorts."

Lord Hervey says he had a very disagreeable person—"short, disproportioned, thick, and clumsily made," with "a broad, ugly face."—See *Hervey's Memoirs Court Geo. II.*, and *Ed. Rev.*, Oct., 1848.



who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this Anti-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy, yet endeavoring, with all his might and with all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. In that country suppose him continually contracting friendship and familiarity with the ambassadors of those princes, who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own; and if, at any time, it should happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well as to all its friends, suppose this foreign minister applying to him and he answering: 'I will get it you; tell me but what you want, I will endeavor to procure it for you.' Upon this he puts a speech or two in the mouths of some of his creatures or some of his new converts. What he wants is moved for in Parliament, and when so very reasonable a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools (by his advice) spreading the alarm over the whole nation, and crying out: 'Gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all of which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister and corrupt majority refused us the proper materials.' \* \* \* \* Let us further suppose this Anti-minister to have traveled, and at every court where he was, thinking himself the greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honor, and betraying every master he ever served. I could carry my suppositions a great deal further, and I may say, I mean no person now in being; but, *if* we can suppose such an one, can there be imagined a greater disgrace to human nature than such a wretch as this."

When all that we can read or know of LORD CHATHAM, rises before us—or when we stand, as we have often done, before a very creditable marble statue of him, in the State in which we write, (Dr. Goodrich has very justly noticed it in the "sketch" of his life,\*) we mourn, with Garrick, about his fate as an actor, that history can never perpetuate this kind of man. She is all for facts, and bent upon striking us with a fact. He—and the true orator of every age—all feeling. Good statuary, we have sometimes thought, can do more for him. History fails and faints just as his characteristic excellencies rise upon the imagination. They defy her pencil—paralyze her arm. To be appreciated, the living voice must pour them into the willing ear. Who can write under the true orator's eye, and—*then*—hope to "print" afterward, "the lightning and the thunder" of his eye and voice!

But *there* HE stands, in the Guildhall of London,† and in

\* It was ordered from England by the S. Carolina House of Assembly, and erected just before the Revolutionary War, in the center of Charleston. The inscription was prophetic (for it was injured during the siege of the city.) "*Time shall sooner destroy this mark of their esteem than erase from their minds the just sense of his patriotic virtue.*"

† Macaulay notices, in Westminster Abbey, a third inspiring statue, of this description: "High over those venerable graves towers the stately monument of Chatham, and from above his own effigy, graven by a cunning hand, seems still with eagle face and outstretched arm to bid England be of good cheer, and to hurl defiance at her foes."

the above best monument of "British Eloquence" in this country—bending toward you in earnestness, dashed with age (for some of his best were among the latest of his efforts)—with his right arm extended, the true scepter of his country's power and monarchy for a generation; and his left gathering up the folds of her symbolic robes, (symbols of what—but the wisdom, all his own, that ever girded him?) or, pointing to the distance at which you must stand to study the figure. His noble countenance, though it has seen so many storms and changes, has still its Roman boldness, Greek pertinacity, solemnizing seriousness. We are trespassing upon our own doctrine, however, in this kind of description. What we would gather from it, for the young especially, is this: You may and must study the elements of such a man's oratory, in its logic and rhetoric, and in the history of his day—but embrace every opportunity of letting the best examples of living eloquence pour themselves direct upon you. Trust to no books about them, if you dare aspire at being, in future, anything like the wells of such living streams. Saul, among the prophets, gloomy, melancholy, wicked Saul, catches something of their inspiration, though it may be difficult to say what.

We have not more, it seems, preserved, than one perfectly authentic speech of Chatham—"certainly only one that underwent his revision." Those upon the American Stamp Act, in 1765, are the first of his speeches of which authentic notes remain—taken by Lord Charlemont and Sir Robert Deane. Add to these the two in the Lords reported by Hugh Boyd, (which include that Lord Chatham is said to have revised,) and we have the ground of Lord Brougham's strong remark: "It seems little short of presumption, after this statement, to attempt including his character as an orator, in the sketch which may be given of this great man."

"He was no speaker of set speeches," says Macaulay.\* "His few prepared discourses were complete failures;" and he instances his panegyric upon Gen. Wolfe. Nor was he a great debater. Mr. Burke considered Charles Fox as far more brilliant and powerful in that essential requisite of a leading British statesman. From the best comparison that can now be made he would scarcely rank, in this respect, with the second William Pitt. It was the man, the statesman, and finally the minister that gave the chief weight to his words,—breadth of intellectual view; dauntless and generally pure public spirit, indomitable purpose, a great central

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\* *Edin. Review*, 1834.

*idea* of what he was about, in attack or defense—opposition or the administration of affairs—toward which he made his whole mind, words, gestures, and features look, and every body around to look with him. He could not argue with Murray; he had not half his learning or law. He disdained to dispute with Walpole, Carteret, the Pelhams, or any one else; he would not tell you how he arrived at any of the strong points on which he stood. But he made Murray tremble before him, wherever they met; utterly crushed Sir Robert Walpole and all his connections; brought round to *his* points and objects, as a minister, every admiral, general, and subordinate officer in the king's service. Anson, first lord of the admiralty, was compelled by him, it is said, to sign orders which he might not previously read. He was unquestionably the greatest War Minister England has ever had; we would hope, not in enmity to her, but in love to mankind, that he may ever remain so. Quite impossible, we believe it would be, to induce any corporate body in England to inscribe on a modern monument the fallacy that is on Chatham's, in the city of London—that "Commerce" was by him "united with and made to flourish *by war*;" but it is a remarkable feature of his administration, that the wide-extended and costly wars abroad were conducted by him, without infringement of the public liberty or any general distress at home.

His speeches, or fragments of them, pervade our American literature; some of the very best were delivered in advocacy of American interests, just before the final rupture between England and the Colonies, and with the strong, patriotic desire of preventing that rupture. There can be no doubt that had Chatham and Franklin been duly empowered, at that period, they would have retarded it for a generation, at least. With more than his usual warmth, the latter spoke of the unparalleled union of wisdom and eloquence he found in Lord Chatham; and an anecdote is told (we think by Franklin himself) of his later residence in London, which is highly honorable to both. The great statesman was preparing a speech on American affairs, when he surprised Dr. F. by driving up to his door. "I come," said he, "to set *my watch* by *your chronometer*." Chatham was sparing of compliments; his remark respecting "confidence being a plant of slow growth in aged bosoms," had even then become a proverb: Franklin never felt a compliment so much.

The scintillations of his oratory, things stricken off from his mind and dealt about red-hot, are its characteristics. He could distinguish between Wilkes and his cause, the rights



of the House of Commons and their arbitrary exercise of them in that case. Then it was he said: "Power without right is the most detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those it subjects, but works its own destruction." "The constitution stands violated. If the breach be effectually repaired, the people will return to tranquillity of themselves. If not—let discord reign forever! I know to what point my language may appear directed. But I have the principles of an Englishman and I utter them without fear or reserve." When the ministers spoke of the obstinacy of America, his reply was: "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to let themselves be made slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." Speaking of the employment of German troops in the war, he said: "The mercenary aid on which you rely irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies. \* \* \* If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms, never! never! never!!" This would have been endured from no other man that ever lived in England. "Perhaps no English orator," says Macaulay, "was ever so much feared."

Lord Brougham gives us this anecdote, "upon good traditional authority." Once in the House of Commons, he began a speech, with the words, "Sugar, Mr. Speaker,"—and observing a smile to pervade his audience, he paused, looked fiercely around, and with a loud voice, rising in its tones and swelling into vehement anger, he pronounced again the word "sugar!" three times. Having thus quelled the house and extinguished every appearance of laughter or levity, he turned round and disdainfully asked: "Who will laugh at sugar now?" Moreton, Chief Justice of Chester, dared once to attack *him*. Having mentioned "king, lords, and commons," this worthy paused and turning toward Mr. Pitt, said: "Or, as the right honorable member would call them, 'commons, lords, and king.'" Mr. Pitt rose, slowly, and called to "order." "I have," he said, "heard frequently, in this House, doctrines which surprised me, but now my blood runs cold! I desire the words of the honorable member may be taken down." The clerk wrote down the words. "Bring them to me," shouted Mr. Pitt. By this time Moreton (says Charles Butler, who furnishes the story) was frightened out of his senses. "Sir," said he, addressing the speaker, "I meant nothing—indeed, I meant nothing." "I don't wish to push the matter further," said Mr. Pitt, in a low tone;



then in a higher, "The moment a man acknowledges his error he ceases to be guilty;" and finally, (with a look of unspeakable derision,) "I have great regard for the honorable gentleman, and as an instance of that regard I give him this advice: whenever that gentleman means nothing, I recommend him to say nothing."

It is needless, we think, however it might adorn our pages, to insert a specimen speech of such an orator. That in relation to the case of Wilkes, said to have been taken by Sir Philip Francis, is "one of the best reported and most eloquent." Its solemn exordium was: "At my advanced period of life, my lords, bowing under the weight of my infirmities, I might, perhaps, have stood excused if I had continued in my retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs. But the alarming state of the country calls upon me to execute the duty which I owe to God, my sovereign, and my country." He then took a rapid survey of the public affairs, lamented the measures which had alienated the colonies, but insisted that they should still be treated with lenity. "These excesses" were "the mere eruptions of liberty, which break out upon the skin and are a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a vigorous constitution, and must not be repelled too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart." The peroration was almost prophetic. Alluding to the case of the *grandees* of Spain, who, slighting the rights of the people had lost their own, "My lords," said he, "let this example be a lesson to us all. Let us be cautious how we admit an idea that our rights stand on a footing different to those of the people. Let us be cautious how we invade the liberties of our fellow-subjects, however mean, however remote. For be assured, my lords, in whatever part of the empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America, in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has lost his own freedom becomes, from that moment, an instrument in the hands of an ambitious prince to destroy the freedom of others. These reflections, my lords, are but too applicable to our present situation. The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in the provinces, but here at home! The English people are loud in their complaints; they demand redress; and depend upon it, my lords, that one way or other *they will have redress*. They will never return to a state of tranquillity till they are redressed. Nor ought they. For, in my judgment, my lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than

to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the Constitution."

Professor Goodrich has given a luminous sketch of his lordship's life, and of the several occasions of his more important speeches.

Lord Mansfield follows. He was the most powerful and most accomplished of all the opponents of Pitt. With the advantages of a classical and finished education, he rose rapidly at the bar, and when first offered a seat in Parliament, replied, with Scottish wariness, that having "many respected friends on both sides of the House, he did not care to lose the patronage of both for the favor of one." Pope assisted him to balance his periods and practice his fine voice. As an advocate, always clear and discreet, he was not considered profound. It was on the floor of the House of Commons, as solicitor and attorney-general, that his forensic and parliamentary talents seem first to have been developed. But his great rival overshadowed him, and on the death of the chief justice, (Ryder,) he declined "the management" of the House, and insisted upon being made his successor. On his judgments and conduct then as head of the King's Bench for thirty-two years, his chief fame rests. "His mind and habits were eminently judicial," says Lord Brougham, "and it may be doubted if, taking both the external and the more essential qualities into the account, that go to form a great judge, any one has ever administered the laws in [England] whom we can fairly name as his equal." Judge Story has indorsed this high character of him. "England and America," he says, "and the civilized world, lie under the deepest obligation to him. Wherever commerce shall extend its social influence; wherever justice shall be administered by enlightened and liberal rules; wherever contracts shall be expounded upon the eternal principles of right and wrong; wherever moral delicacy and judicial refinement shall be infused into the municipal code, at once to persuade men to be honest and to keep them so; wherever the intercourse of mankind shall aim at something more elevated than the groveling spirit of barter, \* \* \* the name of Lord Mansfield will be held in reverence by the good and wise, by the honest merchant, the enlightened lawyer, the just statesman, and the conscientious judge." We have noticed, quite as much as they deserve, Junius' abortive attacks upon him. This is the conclusion of "the best specimen of his parliamentary eloquence." [Was it necessary *to tell us*, at considerable length, of its "felicity of statement, clearness of reasoning, order and elevation of sentiment, &c.? These are qualities that

speak for themselves.] We value the true doctrine of "*popularity*" it contains.

"I now come to speak upon what indeed I would have gladly avoided, had I not been particularly pointed at by the part I have taken on this bill. It has been said, by a noble lord on my left hand, that I likewise am running the race of popularity. If the noble lord means by popularity that applause, bestowed by after ages on good and virtuous actions, I have long been struggling in that race; to what purpose, all-trying time alone can determine. But if the noble lord means that mushroom popularity which is raised without merit and lost without a crime, he is much mistaken in his opinion. I defy the noble lord to point out a single action in my life where the popularity of the times ever had the smallest influence on my determinations. I thank God I have a more permanent and steady rule for my conduct—the dictates of my own breast. Those that have foregone that pleasing adviser and given up their mind to be the slave of every popular impulse, I sincerely pity. I pity them still more if their vanity leads them to mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of their fame. Experience might inform them that many who have been saluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day, have received their execrations the next; and many who, by the popularity of their times, have been held up as spotless patriots, have nevertheless appeared upon the historian's page, when truth has triumphed over delusion, the assassins of liberty."

In his court Lord Mansfield was once surrounded by an immense mob, in a highly excited state. They were waiting for his decision respecting the outlawry of Wilkes, when he said:

"It is fit to take some notice of various terrors being out, and numerous crowds which have attended and now attend in and about the hall, out of all reach of hearing what passes in court, and the tumults which in other places have shamefully insulted all order and government. Audacious addresses in print, dictate to us from those they call 'the people,' the judgment to be given now and afterward upon the conviction. Reasons of policy are urged from danger in the kingdom by commotions and general confusion.

"Give me leave to take the opportunity of this great and respectable audience, to let the whole world know, *all secret attempts are vain*. Unless we have been able to find an error which bears us out to reverse the outlawry, it must be affirmed. \* \* \* As to myself, I took no part (in another place) in the addresses for that prosecution. We did not advise or assist the defendant to fly from justice; it was his own act, and he must take the consequences. None of us have been consulted or had anything to do with the present prosecution. It is not in our power to stop it; it was not in our power to bring it on. We can not pardon. We are to say what we take the law to be. If we do not speak our real opinions we prevaricate with God and our own consciences.

"I pass over many anonymous letters I have received. Those in print are public, and some of them have been brought judiciously before the court. Whoever the writers are, *they take the wrong way*. I will do my duty unawed. What am I to fear? That *mendax infamie* from the press which daily coins false facts and false motives? The lies of calumny carry no terror to me. I trust that the temper of my mind and the color and conduct of my life have given me a suit of armor against these arrows.

"The threats go further than abuse—personal violence is denounced. I do not believe it. It is not the genius of the worst of men of this country, in the worst of times. But I have set my mind at rest. The last end that



can happen to any man never comes too soon, if he falls in support of the law and liberty of his country, (for liberty is synonymous with law and government.) Such a shock, too, might be productive of public good. It might awake the better part of the kingdom out of that lethargy which seems to have benumbed them, and bring the mad part back to their senses, as men intoxicated are sometimes stunned into sobriety."

Mr. Burke may be said to have added largely to the known powers and resources of the English tongue. Excelling in almost every kind of prose composition, he is now erudite as a learned man; now clear and convincing as a didactic teacher, (his great forte,) and now rich to exuberance as an artistic public speaker and writer. His speeches, however, more than any others of equal power, have always appealed through the eye to the mind, to appreciate them, rather than through the ear. They are to be studied that they may be felt. They were never so felt as to invite the hearers to study them. Yet Mr. Fox said he had learned more from him than from all other writers or speakers. He was among the first of philosophic statesmen. "The greatest of political prophets," say his disciples, respecting both the two great revolutions of modern times—the American and the French. Even Sir James Mackintosh, who begun public life in controversy with him, calls Mr. Burke the greatest "*philosopher in practice*" the world ever saw. He very singularly anticipated most of the modern liberal views of mercantile polity. His speech on "Economical Reform" has been the manual of every moderate and constitutional English reformer, since it was written. Lord Brougham, from whom we take this last remark, regards his "Thoughts on the Discontent" as the most chaste and temperate of all his political writings.

His maiden speech was delivered in the presence of Lord Chatham, on the subject of the fatal disputes with America; he may be said to have become the heir of Chatham's honors and principles upon that subject—leading after him the opposition of the day, in the House of Commons—as Mr. Fox became his heir, until the French Revolution divided them.

There is a mystery about the circumstances of his early life. His father, who was an attorney at Dublin, in good practice, afforded him a regular education at Trinity College, and afterward entered him at the Middle Temple, London, with a view to his pursuing the legal profession; his executors, one of whom was Dr. King, Bishop of Rochester, say that "by the death of a brother, whom he loved and lamented, he succeeded to upward of £20,000," and that *he*, once only, mentioned this in debate. We do not find that debate. It is certain that soon after his arrival in London he lived



upon the small wages of literature, and was in receipt of them for several years. In a more authentic life of him than has yet appeared, (and which was promised by Dr. King,) this question of his early circumstances may be cleared up. We are inclined to think the sum exaggerated. In his memorable letter to the Duke of Bedford, he says, *Nitor in adversum* was the proper motto of his life.

But he had an early and happy acquaintance with the chief religious parties of Ireland and England, which diffused a spirit of toleration, or true liberality, rather, without indifference, over his religious views, as highly honorable to him as it was then rare. His father was a Protestant, of the Established Church, his mother a Catholic lady; he received the rudiments of his education from a Quaker of superior learning, and married a Presbyterian. He speaks of his old teacher as a Dissenter, "of one of the purest sects," under whose eye he read the Bible morning, noon, and night, and that he had ever been "a happier and better man for such reading." He always contended for more of concession to the Catholics of Ireland than he could obtain. Yet he says, in his old age, contrasting the origin of his pension with that of the possessions of the Bedford family: "The merit of the original grantee of his grace's pensions was that of giving his hand to the work and partaking the spoil, with the prince who plundered a part of the National Church of his time and country. Mine has been in defending the whole of the National Church of my own time and my own country, and *the whole of the national churches of all countries*, (!) from the principles and the example which lead to ecclesiastical pillage; thence to a contempt of all proscriptive titles; thence to the pillage of all property; and thence to universal desolation."

He has been called, the happy medium between the abstract principles of political government and the practice; and the chief part of his life appears to sustain this character.\* It is divisible into what may be called, after Dr. Goodrich, his American, Indian, and French campaigns in Parliament. Throughout the whole, his efforts were directed either to the attack and redress of some existing evil or wrong, or to the defense and conservation of some acknowledged good; and we believe, with one of his latest admirers, that "where inconsistencies are found in his writings, between his earlier and later opinions, they will be seen to consist

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\* Thus Mackintosh says: "His mighty understanding was best employed in the middle region, between the details of business and the generalities of speculation."

chiefly in matters of detail and expression." His own eloquent defense was, that he wished to preserve consistency only by varying the means to secure the unity of his end; "when the equipoise of the vessel in which he sails may be endangered by over loading it on one side, he is desirous of carrying the small weight of his reasons to that which may preserve its equipoise."

He was what Coleridge calls Shakspeare, a "myriad-minded" man. It will excite but little surprise, therefore, that according to that side of his character on which he is viewed, and as it accords, more or less, with their own views, able men, both of his contemporaries and successors in England, have estimated his general character very differently. While the late Lord Melbourne ventured to characterize him, in the House of Lords, (July, 1838,) as one mixture of incongruous extremes—with opinions always on the outermost verge of those which could be held on any question;" stating that he was always wild and impracticable in his views; that he knew not what moderation or modification was, in any doctrine which he advanced, but was utterly extravagant in whatever judgment he formed and whatever sentiment he expressed (!)—Lord Brougham, wholly differing with him, in most of his political principles, says: "It would be difficult to find any statesman, of any age, whose opinions were more habitually marked by moderation, by a constant regard to the results of actual experience, as well as the dictates of an enlarged reason, by a fixed determination always to be practical, by a cautious and prudent abstinence from all extremes."\*

Robert Hall's eloquent sketch is more just, perhaps, than either of these, and is that of a generous opponent, with a kindred spirit. "It is pretended that the moment we quit a state of nature, as we have given up the control of our actions in return for the superior advantages of law and government, we can never appeal again to original principles, but must rest content with the advantages that are secured by the terms of the society. These are the views which distinguish the political writings of Mr. Burke—an author whose splendid and unequalled powers have given a vogue and fashion to certain tenets which from any other pen would have appeared abject and contemptible. In the field of reason, the encounter would not be difficult, but who can withstand the fascination and magic of his eloquence? The excursions of his genius are immense. His imperial fancy has

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\* Sketches—Art. Burke.

laid all nature under tribute, and has collected riches from every scene of the creation and every walk of art. His eulogium on the Queen of France is a master-piece of pathetic composition; so select are its images, so fraught with tenderness, and so rich with colors 'dipt in heaven,' that he who can read it without rapture may have merit as a reasoner, but must resign all pretensions to taste and sensibility. His imagination is, in truth, only too prolific; a world of itself, where he dwells in the midst of chimerical alarms—the specters of his own creation. His intellectual views, in general, are wide and variegated, rather than distinct, and the light *he has let in* on the British constitution, resembles the colored effulgence of a painted medium, a kind of mimic twilight, solemn and soothing to the senses, but better fitted for ornament than use.”\*

In justice to Burke, however, it should be asked, was *not* his “insight, foresight” as to the chief consequences to the British empire of the conflict with her colonies—and those to France and to Europe, generally, of the French Revolution? America has achieved everything she fought for—France, nothing. Visiting Paris just before the accession of Louis XVI., he was courted and caressed as a man of eminence, by the literary cabal (says the preface to his *Observations on the Conduct of the Ministry*) which was then preparing the way for the overthrow of altars and thrones. They daily beset him, and communicated to him enough to let a mind observant as his into all their secrets. From that time he always dated those impressions which made him foresee, in their first rudiments, the hideous consequences of the doctrines propagated and the measures pursued by the National Assembly. In a speech, after his return, of which no satisfactory report was ever given, he pointed these things out. “Nevertheless, he sought information from every quarter, as if the subject had been wholly new to him”—had many correspondents on the spot—among others, he received letters “endeavoring to trick out the events of the Revolution,” from Mr. Paine, M. Christie, and Anacharsis Cloots. It was in answer to a letter of this kind, from a French gentleman, that he wrote his “*Reflections*.”

“After all that has been written on the origin of *our* Revolution,” says Professor Goodrich, “there is nowhere to be found so admirable a summary of the causes which produced it, as in Mr. Burke’s speeches.” He inserts that on Taxation and that on the conciliation of America. We have room

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\* Hall’s Works, 2d edit., vol. iv., p. 89.



but for an extract from the last. Mackintosh calls it, "the most faultless of his productions."

"Mr. Speaker, I can not prevail on myself to hurry over this great consideration. It is good for us to be here. We stand where we have an ample view of what is, and what is past. Clouds indeed and darkness rest upon the future. Let us, however, before we descend from this noble eminence, reflect that this growth of our national prosperity has happened within the short period of the life of man. It has happened within sixty-five years. There are those alive, whose memory might touch the two extremities. For instance, my Lord Bathurst might remember all the stages of the progress. \* \* \* Suppose, sir, that the angel of this auspicious youth—amid these bright and happy scenes of domestic honor and prosperity, should have drawn up the curtain and unfolded the rising glories of his country; and while he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interests, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him: 'Young man, there is *America*, which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners, yet shall before you taste death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to, in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America, in the course of a single life. \* \* \* Fortunate man! he has lived to see it! Fortunate, indeed, if he live to see nothing to vary the prospect and cloud the setting of his day!

\* \* \* "You can not station garrisons in every part of these deserts. If you drive the people from one place, they will carry on their annual tillage and remove with their flocks and herds to another. \* \* \* They would change their manners with the habits of their life; would soon forget a government by which they were disowned; become masters of your governors, your councilors, your collectors and controllers, and of all the slaves that adhered to them.

"To impoverish the colonies in general, and in particular to arrest the noble course of their marine enterprises, would be a more easy task. I freely confess it. We have shown a disposition to a system of this kind—even to continue the restraint after the offense—looking on ourselves as rivals to our colonies, and persuaded that of course we must gain all that they shall lose. Much mischief we may certainly do. The power inadequate to all other things, is, often, more than sufficient for this.

\* \* \* "The temper and character which prevail in our colonies are, I am afraid, unalterable by any human art. We can not, I fear, falsify the pedigree of this fierce people, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation in whose veins the blood of freedom circulates. The language in which they would hear you tell them this tale, would detect the imposition. Your speech would betray you. An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery.

"I think it is nearly as little in our power to change their republican religion as their free descent; or to substitute *the Roman Catholic as a penalty, or the Church of England as an improvement*. The mode of inquisition and dragooning is going out of fashion in the Old World, and I should not confide much to their efficacy in the New. The education of the Americans is also on the same unalterable bottom with their religion. You can not persuade them to burn their books of curious science, banish their lawyers, or quench the lights of their assemblies by refusing to choose those persons who are best read in those privileges."

Mr. Burke was the leading manager in the impeachment

and monstrous trial of Warren Hastings. We can only advert to it, to say that he opened in a speech which lasted four hours, and which is characterized as "the greatest intellectual effort ever made in Parliament." In one part of it Hastings himself declares he looked on the orator in a reverie of wonder, and felt himself, for the moment, one of the most culpable of men. The speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, (a kind of preliminary attack on Mr. Pitt,) though called by Lord Brougham "by far the first of all Burke's orations," is said by Grenville, who was present, to have made "not the slightest impression" on the House.

We fitly close, perhaps, with the touching character of his son, after whose death Mr. Burke was never truly himself. It occurs in his "Letters to a noble Lord," already referred to.

"Had it pleased God to continue to me the hopes of succession, I should have been according to my mediocrity and the mediocrity of the age I live in, a sort of founder of a family; I should have left a son, who, in all the points in which personal merit can be viewed, in science, in erudition, in genius, in taste, in honor, in generosity, in humanity, in every liberal sentiment and every liberal accomplishment, would not have shown himself inferior to the Duke of Bedford. \* \* \* It would not have been for that successor to resort to any stagnant, wasting reservoir of merit in me, or in any ancestry. He had in himself a living spring of salient and manly action:

"But a Disposer, whose power we are little able to resist, and whose wisdom it behooves us not at all to dispute, has ordained it in another manner, and (whatever my querulous weakness might suggest) far better. The storm has gone over me and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honor; I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth. There, and prostrate there, I most unfeignedly recognize the Divine justice, and in some degree submit to it. \* \* \* I am alone. I have none to meet my enemies in the gale. Indeed, my lord, I greatly deceive myself, if, in this hard season, I would give a peck of refuse wheat for all that is called fame and honor in the world."

In this volume we have a remarkable group of interesting and influential Irishmen—Burke, Sheridan, Grattan, and Curran. Add to them now the name of the Iron Duke (of Wellington) and what other five names in modern British history are of superior if equal prominence? What shall we infer from this? Unmitigated tyranny in the English government of Ireland? or, exclusive partiality to the Saxon race of her subjects? May we not rather ask, under what other than British institutions would these great men have been appreciated, fostered, and honored, as they were? Could Ireland, in any circumstances, alone have produced them? Not a man of them, but the last, had the slightest pretensions to high birth, but all, in the maturity of their minds, regarded the United Empire as their country—just as every true American feels his to be the United States. *Esto per-*

*petua!* No. It has not been England as a master, (admitting the domination not always to have been either a kind or a just one,) but Rome, as a mistress, that has been the source of all the chief troubles of Ireland's troubled history. And, thanks to the Lord of All, she is becoming awake to this!

Grattan and Sheridan stand chronologically before the great English pair of modern statesmen, Fox and Pitt; then come an interesting Scottish trio—Erskine, Mackintosh, and Brougham.

*Grattan* is the connecting link between the British Eloquence of the middle of the last century, and that of its close. He was the orator of the Volunteer movement of Ireland in 1780 and 1782; assisted at "the cradle" of her modern independence, as he afterward said, and carried a Declaration of Right, in two speeches of that day, which have rarely been surpassed. He quickly rose to unbounded popularity, was voted the sum of £50,000 by the Irish Parliament, (£100,000 was at first proposed, and would have been carried, but he declined the half!) and may be regarded as a pattern of the ornate and vehement oratory of his country. As such, we have nothing exceeding it. He battled, all his days, for Catholic Emancipation, but clearly would not have sanctioned any of the late abortive movements of "Young Ireland," (so called,) for he forfeited his popularity for years, because Mr. Flood and others could not engage him in such projects.

But he anticipated Lord Brougham in his power of terrible invective. Hence it is, perhaps, that his lordship writes so warmly of Grattan. (And we can not read the two speeches here devoted to that gift of his, without recollecting how heads that wore a coronet have been seen to bow and wince, like bulrushes in a wind, under Brougham's tongue.) In the face of all the facts that clearly prove Grattan's disinterestedness, Flood accused him of being bribed by the government. Our orator replied on this wise:

"You, sir, approved of the tyranny exercised against America; and you, sir, voted four thousand Irish troops to cut the throats of the Americans, fighting for their freedom, fighting for your freedom, fighting for the great principle, liberty! But you found, at last, (and this should be an eternal lesson to men of your craft and cunning,) that the king had only dishonored you; the court *had bought and would not trust you*, and having voted for the worst measures, you remained for seven years the creature of salary without the confidence of government. \* \* \* \* You fly to the volunteers and canvass for mutiny; you announce that the country was ruined by other men, during that period in which she had been sold by you. Your logic is, that a repeal of a declaratory law is not the repeal of a law at all, and the effect of that logic is—an English act to emancipate Ireland by exercising over her



the authority of the British Parliament. Such has been your conduct; and at such conduct every order of your fellow-subjects have a right to exclaim—the merchant may say to you, the constitutionalist may say to you, the American may say to you, and I, *I* now say to you, and say to your beard, sir, *you are not an honest man.*”

*Sheridan* was always witty; rarely thorough in knowledge or principle. His speeches were like his convivial bursts—brilliant upon artifice and stimulants, literal or mental. Since his death it has been discovered that he prepared himself for the prince's and other parties, by writing out little bits of wit, by wholesale, to be retailed for extemporaneous, as the occasion offered. Oratory, such as his, becomes of less and less account in our literature. It exhibits every fault of a meretricious and gaudy style; when it pleases you, seldom convincing; and when most pathetic, least persuasive, because it has so often deceived you with “airy nothings.” Common sense has made an irreparable “hole” in this drum-like eloquence, (as Luther said he did “in the drum of the Papacy,”) beaten upon, as has been its *hollowness*, by ignorance and pride. For Mr. *Sheridan* was no scholar, (in the higher sense of the term;) “no statesman at all”—(Brougham;) a party-man of doubtful fidelity; and, on the scale of a life, no man's friend. Of course he never had a friend. Admirers in abundance he had—as enthusiastic as they were transient, (his Begum speech first introduced in the House of Commons the cheering of a successful speaker, when he sits down;) patrons, too, of his very available genius—of princely names and means; popularity, at the hustings, awhile—for he was at the head of the science of clap-trap—but chiefly, of course, through his own recklessness and life-long folly, the sheriff seized the “last blanket” of his death-bed; then the Prince Regent sent and paid the debt; and then his political friends obtained him a grave in Westminster Abbey!

The Begums were princesses of Oude, from whom Warren Hastings was charged with having extorted money. *Sheridan's* speech upon that charge, at the trial of Hastings, has always been considered his best. The minister, Mr. Pitt, entreated the House not to come to a vote upon it “while under the enchanter's wand.” This is the most admired part. He is speaking of certain instructions given, as to the treatment of the Begums' ministers, having read this “note”—“Sir, when this is delivered to you, I have to desire that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, *keeping them from all food, &c., agreeably to my instructions of yesterday.*”

“To English arms, to English officers,” he says, “around whose banners

humanity has ever entwined her most glorious wreath, how will this sound? It was in this fort, where the British flag was flying, that these helpless prisoners were doomed to deeper dungeons, (they had been previously led out in fetters to a scaffold,) heavier chains, and severer punishments. Where that flag was displayed, which was wont to cheer the depressed and to dilate the subdued heart of misery, these venerable, but unfortunate men, were fated to encounter every aggravation of horror and distress. It appears, moreover, that they were both cruelly flogged, though one was above seventy years of age. Being charged with disaffection, they vindicated their innocence. 'Tell us, where are the remaining treasures,' was the reply. 'It is only treachery to your immediate sovereigns, and you will then be fit associates for the representatives of British faith and British justice in India.' O Faith! O Justice! I conjure you, by your sacred names, to depart for a moment from this place, though it be your peculiar residence—nor hear your names profaned by such a sacrilegious combination as that which I am now compelled to repeat—where all the forms of nature and art, truth and peace, policy and honor shrink back aghast from the deleterious shade—where all existences, nefarious and vile, have sway—where, amid the black agents on one side and Middleton with Impey on the other [stands] the great figure of the piece!"

'This is but half the apostrophe, but too much, we confess, for our taste.

Following the list of our Professor we come now to the familiar name of CHARLES JAMES FOX. That he was high-born, pampered until as entirely spoiled, in youth, as a rich, indulgent father, who should take pains to do it, could spoil him; a gambler, and of loose morals at maturity, but a very amiable, lovable man; a statesman of large views and unquestionable patriotism; and that he finally stood at the head of the parliamentary debaters of his time, (perhaps of all time,) who has not heard? "His feeling was all intellect," says Coleridge, "and his intellect all feeling;" Sir James Mackintosh, that "he was the most Demosthenean speaker since Demosthenes," which, however, Lord Brougham calls "a great mistake." Burke designates him as "the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw."

It is from men of kindred minds, who were his actual auditors, that we love to take the estimate of such a man's powers. "For ourselves," says John Foster, "we think we never heard any man who dismissed us from the argument, on a debated topic, with such a feeling of satisfied and final conviction, or such a competence to tell why we were convinced. There was in the view in which subjects were placed by him, something like the daylight, that simple clearness which makes things conspicuous and does not make them glare; a kind of light, less amusing than that of magnificent luster—less fascinating and romantic than that of the moon, but which is immeasurably preferred when we are bent on sober business. \* \* \* The grandeur of plain sense would

not have been an absurd phrase to describe one of Fox's speeches."\*

We differ with Mr. Foster in attributing the little public influence of Fox, and the short time he was in the government, exclusively to his early dissipation—"the want of confidence" in his personal character. He insists that in England no man can possess much influence, as a reformer, "without the reality, or at any rate the invulnerable reputation of virtue."† Would that this were the strict truth! It is, to a degree, true. Personal immorality will clog the wheels of a statesman's ascending career and accelerate his fall. But Sheridan was at one time popular—as were all the advocates of the Reform Bill! And what shall we say to the popularity of Wilkes, occurring but a few years before? If, in fact, the English public man stick to his business—and succeed—few questions are asked as to his private life.

But English feeling is very sensitive to intrigue in a public man; and, without considering, with Talleyrand, "a blunder worse than a crime," it is too resentful of a blunder. Mr. Fox, in his coalition with Lord North, in his Indian Bill, and in his strange doctrine concerning the rights of the Prince of Wales, early awoke that sensitiveness; as in his rash estimate of the French Revolution he, in later life, excited that resentment. Professor Goodrich has very just views of the "false position" into which he was thus drawn, in 1792 and '3. "He insensibly became the apologist of the French rulers;" proclaimed in the House of Commons his joy at the seizure of the Netherlands; drank, in the Whig Club, to "the sovereignty of the people of Great Britain," and spoke of resistance to the government, "as a question not of duty but prudence." "It was the greatest misfortune of his subsequent life," says our Professor. Mr. Fox, it is said, could never understand why his coalition with Lord North was so severely blamed; and Mr. Gibbon, who was intimate with both, avers that they "never felt any personal enmity." But how were plain Englishmen to understand "the easy and sincere reconciliation" which Gibbon says took place with a man whom Fox had stigmatized as "the most infamous of mankind," "the greatest criminal in the state," and respecting whose whole party he had said, but a few months before, "If I should make any terms with them, I would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind. I could

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\* Review of Fox's James II.—*Foster's Miscellanies*, New York, 1844, p. 121.

† Id. 122.



not, for a moment, think of coalition,"\* &c. Sir Samuel Romilly denounced it as "the scandalous alliance between Fox and Lord North." There can be no question that it was the origin of all that suspicion as to his motives, which overwhelmed him and the coalition ministry (on the question of his famous India Bill;) or that it did more to destroy "all confidence in public men," than any event in the long reign of George III. It was not, then, the lack of private, but of public virtue, which drove Mr. Fox from power; which fastened upon him the inveterate prejudices of the king, and which destroyed, for half his life, all possibility of the effective use of his splendid talents, on the behalf of the people. Lord Brougham lays down, very well, the *doctrine* of the dangerous tendency of treating such errors with "indulgence," but extends much of this to the conduct of his favorite statesman here.

On the subject of his eloquence, Lord B. confirms a remark just made: "It was of a kind which, to comprehend, you must have heard yourself." He never prepared a speech; was always best in reply. "One of his worst speeches, if not his worst, was that upon Thomas, Duke of Bedford; and it is known to be almost the only one he prepared, and the only one he ever corrected for the press." His greatest speeches, according to this authority, were those in 1792, on the Russian armament, on Parliamentary Reform, in 1797, and on the renewal of the war, in 1803. Dr. Goodrich has given us the first two. Mr. Fox himself is said to have preferred the last to all the others. "But for the inferiority of the subject," Brougham says, that "upon the Westminster Scrutiny might, perhaps, be justly placed at the head of them all;" and then, of his speaking, generally: "When he got fairly into his subject—was heartily warmed with it—he poured forth words and periods of fire, that smote you, and deprived you of all power to rescue yourself, while he went on to siege the faculties of his listener and carry them captive along with him, whithersoever he might please to rush. It is ridiculous to doubt that he was a far closer reasoner, a much more argumentative speaker than Demosthenes; as much more so as Demosthenes would, perhaps, have been, than Fox, had he lived in our times and had to address an English House of Commons. His voice was particularly sweet, his pronunciation singularly beautiful;" he rejected, carefully, foreign or borrowed words and idioms, and, with all our best speakers, "affected the pure Saxon tongue."

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\* Fox's Speeches, as quoted by Goodrich, vol. ii., 39.

Mr. Fox went to Paris during the short peace of Amiens; was cordially received by Napoleon, then first consul, and ever after spoken of by him with great respect. He seems to have been the only prominent English statesman that made the personal acquaintance of Bonaparte. We remember an anecdote of that distant day. With the little knowledge of England, and the propensity to blame Mr. Pitt for the late war, then characteristic of the French, the chief consul accused that great man of having plotted his assassination. His generous rival met the thought with an indignant denial, and the homely caution: "Clear your head of that nonsense, sir."

Dr. Goodrich considers his ablest speech to have been that on the rejection, in 1800, of Bonaparte's overtures for peace. Mr. Pitt had said the British government would not treat until the first consul's power was better established. Mr. Fox's reply exhibits his honorable hatred of all unnecessary wars.

"Gracious God!" he exclaimed, "is war a state of probation? Is peace a rash system? Is it dangerous for rulers to live in amity? Are your vigilance, your policy, your common powers of observation to be extinguished, by putting an end to the horrors of war? \* \* \* 'But we must pause.' What! must the bowels of Great Britain be torn out, her best blood be spilled, her treasure wasted, that you may make an experiment? Put yourselves—oh! that you would put yourselves in the field of battle, and learn to judge of the sort of horrors you excite! If a man were present, and were to inquire, for what they are fighting?—'Fighting?' would be the answer; 'they are not fighting, they are—*pausing*!' 'Why is that man expiring? Why that other writhing in agony? What means this implacable fury?' The answer must be, 'You are quite wrong, sir; you deceive yourself; they are not fighting; do not disturb them; they are merely *pausing*.'"

The life of Mr. PITT, the true heir of Chatham, was remarkably a public one; varied scarcely at all, but by the incidents of his country's history. These were, however, sufficient to call forth all his great powers—and to exhaust them. Prime Minister of England at twenty-four years of age, he died at forty-six, having (except during a short interval of three years) been in that first of political offices, the whole time. His domestic relations were well sustained; his moral character, through life, without reproach; and, proud as he was, to sternness, sometimes, in his public bearing, his temper was mild and affectionate, his spirits buoyant, to playfulness, in private life. It is no slight testimony to the general virtue of his character, that with the excellent Wilberforce he retained an uninterrupted friendship, from their college life until his own death. Mr. W. testifies strongly to the purity of his motives, to his "integrity and love of

country," and to "his love of *truth*, as astonishing, considering the situation he so long filled." He was more truly *English* than his great rival, for he never intrigued, never solicited; no man of that day, no prince, seemed so decidedly born to command. Never was he entangled in admiration of the France of his day, nor intimidated into fear of her. His great merit as a pilot-statesman, is, that through good and ill report he kept his country's barque clear of that burning vessel. He saved his country, in the estimate of a vast majority of her people, and his friends and polity completed a triumph over her enemies, which, like the great Hebrew leader through the wilderness, he was not permitted to see!

Of the first years of his administration, Mr. Gibbon says: "In all his researches in ancient and modern history, he had nowhere met with a parallel; with one who at so early a period of life had so important a trust reposed in him, which he discharged with so much credit to himself and advantage to the kingdom." Lord Brougham calls his conduct in commencing the revolutionary war with France, "the *main charge*," and suffering his colleagues to vote against the abolition of the slave trade, (while *he* spoke eloquently in its favor,) "the *gravest charge*" against him. His lordship's observations are, in substance, condemnatory of the whole public conduct of Mr. Pitt. We are not anxious, had we space, to vindicate it. But the prejudices of the Whig are here clearly evident, (as in his previous estimate of the great Whig leader,) in the *suppressio veri*. He says just nothing of Mr. Pitt's arduous struggle, his unparalleled battle with the corrupt coalition, which so attracted even Gibbon's notice and the whole nation's applause. On "the *main charge*" we refer our readers to Professor Goodrich. He did not commence the war with France; she declared it, and spoke of her Declaration of Rights as designedly "placed by the side of thrones, for a devouring fire;" offering "fraternity and *assistance* to all people" who would imitate her conduct. On the grave charge of insincerity respecting the abolition of the slave trade, stated poetically, by a true poet of liberty, yet surviving, that

—— While his tones like heaven's high thunder broke,  
No fire descended to consume the yoke,

much might be said. The best answer may be put interrogatively. Did he not do what he could? Quite a sufficient answer with us, is the fact of the continued personal esteem with which he was regarded by the great advocate



of the measure. More than any man, Wilberforce knew the exact situation and difficulties of his friend; and he, as we have seen, testifies particularly to his characteristic "integrity," his "astonishing love of *truth*." We must impeach that of the testifier to embrace Lord Brougham's view of this matter.

But the prejudiced ex-chancellor, turning to Mr. Pitt, the orator, accords to him full justice. "He is to be placed, without any doubt, in the highest class." His use of ornament is severely chaste; he rises "to carry away every hearer;" keeps the attention unflagging until he is pleased to let it go; and then,

"So charming left his voice, that we awhile  
Still thought him speaking, still stood fixed to hear."

We must refer to "Brougham's Sketches" for a noble eulogium here. It concludes:

"Such were the effects, invariably, of this singular eloquence; and they were as certainly produced on ordinary occasions as in those grander displays, when he rose to the height of some great argument, or indulged in vehement invective against some individual, and variegated his speech with that sarcasm of which he was so great, and indeed so little sparing, a master; although here all was uniform and consistent, nor did anything, in any mood of mind, ever drop from him, that was unsuited to the majestic frame of the whole, or could disturb the serenity of the full and copious flood that rolled along."

His death was deeply mourned by those who knew him best. Attended by a prelate of the Establishment, (Prettyman, his private secretary—always more of the lord than the bishop,) religious services were not proposed to him until within about six hours of his dissolution; and "I can not but fear," said the friend who knew both,\* "that his lordship's language toward him then was"—anything but Gospel truth. We have no doubt that he had every needful outward attention while living. But another friend relates this affecting circumstance. Hearing of Mr. Pitt's extreme illness, he went down to his cottage, and finding the hall door ajar, went in; an inner room had also the door open; he passed through, and on his bed found—the corpse of the premier, with no friend or attendant on the premises! *Sic transit gloria!* Here was the man who, a few hours before, was at the head of an empire on which the sun never sets!

The remaining names of Dr. Goodrich's volume have attractive power and considerable brilliancy—Erskine, Curran, Mackintosh, Canning, and Brougham—but they attain

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\* Wilberforce's Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 315. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia.

not to the eloquent might of their parliamentary fathers. Erskine and Mackintosh failed in Parliament; Curran was a charming exotic in London, but never distinguished himself in the English House of Commons, though Brougham speaks of him as, "after Grattan and Plunkett, the greatest orator that Ireland has produced."

Mr. *Erskine* will never be forgotten at the English bar; but we should not have assigned him, with our Professor, double space to that of Mr. Pitt, or nearly as much as Pitt and Fox together. All his speeches, here inserted, are forensic; as "an advocate at the bar," Lord Campbell pronounces him to be "without an equal in ancient or modern times." Much of his success, and he lived to earn one of the largest professional incomes of the day, was connected with the romance of his early history, and the exciting political circumstances of England afterward. He declared he should have failed in his first speech, but that "he felt his four children plucking at his gown and urging him to go on." With no strictly professional education, and little, indeed, of any kind, he exhibited a depth of legal learning on the Rights of Juries, a philosophical grasp of the doctrine of Insanity, (in the standard case of *Hatfield*,) and a familiarity with the whole law of Treason, that have never been surpassed. No judge could intimidate and no jury resist him. "He would fascinate them by his first glance," as they have declared, "and it was impossible to remove their looks from him when he had riveted them." Compelled by circumstances to study men's ways and hearts first, and books second, he is at once an instance of the advantages of this method—when extraordinary talents are driven upon it—and of its disadvantages. On the one hand, it taught him to select and ply the knowledge that he wanted: on the other, it never suffered him to acquire the love of truth and knowledge for their own sakes; left him remarkable, in old age, for the egotism of the self-taught, and with few moral or intellectual pleasures. His speeches were all collected and edited, in five volumes, by himself. "Beyond all doubt," says Brougham, "that in the case of *Stockdale* (1789) is the first" [in merit.]

*Curran* was the Erskine of Ireland. Of poor parentage; so bad a voice that, among the young Templars, he was "stuttering Jack Curran" and "Orator Mum"—he "worked like a horse and lived like a hermit," (as Lord Eldon gives the receipt for making a good lawyer,) until he reached the summit of professional distinction; and on the accession of the Whigs to power in 1806, was made Master of the Rolls in Ireland. Of the Sheridan school, in style, there is far more

in his speeches to be admired than imitated; but "Phillips' Recollections of him" contain some things of rare excellence. The following is a retort of his, said to be "the most certainly known to be unpremeditated of anything in the rhetorical art." A Judge Robinson, author of various time-serving pamphlets, sneered at Curran's law library as "rather contracted." "It is very true, my lord," was his reply, "that I am poor, and the circumstance has somewhat curtailed my library; my books are not numerous, but they are select, and I hope have been perused with proper dispositions. I have prepared myself for this high profession rather by the study of a few good works than by the composition of a great many bad ones. I am not ashamed of my poverty, but I should be ashamed of my wealth, could I have stooped to acquire it by servility or corruption. If I rise not to rank, I shall, at least, be honest; and should I ever cease to be so, many an example shows me that an ill-gained elevation, by making me the more conspicuous, would only make me the more universally and the more notoriously contemptible."

Sir *James Mackintosh* must really be "Orator Mum" with us. He was, while an excellent essayist and profound metaphysician, neither a practical statesman nor a *tolerable* speaker in Parliament; nor celebrated for more than a single speech at the bar—that on behalf of M. Peltier, here given. *Erskine* very kindly and *Robert Hall* very lavishly praised it. The turgid language of the latter is worthy a place beside *Dr. Parr's* eulogium on himself. "I read [it] so far as your part in it is concerned, with the highest delight and instruction. I speak my sincere sentiments when I say, it is the most extraordinary assemblage of whatever is most refined in address, profound in political and moral speculation, and masterly in eloquence, which it has ever been my lot to read in the English language!"

Mr. *Canning* was the child, and, in his day, the brightest ornament, perhaps, of the British House of Commons—where, after a youth of brilliant promise at Eton and Oxford, he was introduced by Mr. Pitt as member for a ministerial borough, and where, as Prime Minister, he may almost be said to have died. He wore his life out, certainly, in the combats of that high arena. There he was transfixed by the scathing eloquence of *Brougham*, until, with indignant pride, and in the face of all decorum, he exclaimed: "*It is false!*" Did his fierce rival afterward draw the weapon out and fight with it nobly by *Canning's* side, in his hour of need? Still, at last, there he fell, a sacrifice to the envy of his aristocratical associates. An illustrated life of this remarkable man,



such as Lord Brougham only, perhaps, of all living men could write, would exhibit more of the littleness of the great old parties, and the growing greatness of the new and disciplined democracy which is of no party, in England, than the biography of any other British statesman. He was, unfortunately, the son of a fortunate, respectable actress—his father being a briefless Irish barrister, whom his family disowned for marrying her. Educated by an uncle, he made his maiden speech in the House, in his twenty-fourth year, in support of a financial measure of his patron, Mr. Pitt; but was known, for a time, more as a literary man than in Parliament. Everywhere he was lavish of his great sarcastic powers and real wit. He became a formidable Anti-Jacobin; a biting satirist of the peculiarities of the Della-Cruscan and early Lake Schools.\* A fortunate marriage secured to him, at this time, personal independence. Slowly he rose to be a worthy competitor of Brougham, on the hustings of Liverpool and in the House—to be an under Secretary of State—Treasurer of the Navy—and, in 1807, principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His duel with Lord Castlereagh led to his disconnection with the government, for a short time; but he held, from 1814 to 1823, the honorable appointments, in succession, of Ambassador Extraordinary to Portugal, President of the East India Board of Control, and Governor Elect of India. In 1823, resuming the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he became the chief support of the Liverpool administration. On the death of the premier, the country looked to Mr. Canning as his successor.

The Pitt or Tory party had, at this time, no man of equal talent and parliamentary tact; and he only differed with his principal colleagues on the Catholic Emancipation question, which they themselves proposed and carried two years afterward. But he had, in truth, succeeded too far for a man of his birth and temperament; he had secured no entire party and no powerful personal friends. His ministry of a few months, was principally sustained by that boldness and liberality in his measures which called to his aid several of the Whig leaders: the gratification of his ambition, however, on finding himself at the head of his own party, only embittered his disappointment at their desertion of him, and he may be considered as the most illustrious *victim* of successful ambition the modern world has seen. Sir James Mackintosh has char-

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\* Professor Goodrich gives us his "Knife-grinder" in burlesque, as the Professor says, of "a fashionable poet's sympathy" for the poor. It was in burlesque of this sympathy, mixed with the politics of the Lake School, and of *Southey's* in particular—not then a fashionable poet.

acterized his oratory as the best model of the adorned English style; inferior to that of Fox and Pitt in fervor and impression, but exceeding both in the chastened play of fancy, in variety and richness of illustration.

Contrary to every rule, both of canonization and apotheosis, the living Lord *Brougham's* gaunt and powerful figure is brought forward by our Professor to close his bulky volume. We must be excused from following his lordship far, for we really know not where to class him. For enduring greatness he has attempted too much, we fear; has dashed forward to first positions in the literary, scientific, legal, and political world; served his country, elevated his family, and entitled himself to a place among the "bright and shining" lights of his day; but whether as planet, satellite, comet, or meteor—star of the first magnitude, second, or third—no augury of ours can divine. Let his orbit be completed! And when it is, let posterity—not soon—decide!

We have noticed already the omission of various names that would seem to demand notice in a work like this. There is one of them, that of *William Wilberforce*, upon which we must be permitted a few words. His eloquence was "of the first order," says Brougham; "persuasive and pathetic in an eminent degree; occasionally bold and impassioned; animated with the inspiration which deep feeling alone can breathe into spoken thought." His character is little understood in large sections of this country. Ultra pro-slavery men of the South feel a distaste of his memory, while they can not deny his virtues, because he was the first great mover in the opposition to slavery; and because they rightly regard the Emancipation of the West Indies (although he was not active in the accomplishment of it) as a final movement upon his principles. They are ignorant of his true merits and *moderation* of character, because they do not care to inquire into them. Ultra abolitionists of the North, invoke his name in equal ignorance of many of his principles. He was a *sedate* lover of liberty and religion. The writer once said to a leader of this misguided, if well-meaning party, "I suppose that you imagine if Mr. Wilberforce were in this country, he would immediately be found amongst you." "Certainly." "You are entirely mistaken." "Where, then, would he be found?" "At the South, if engaged at all in the question of American slavery—in the mildest and most gentlemanly intercourse with the planters, or in attendance on the more liberal legislatures, urging *them* to undertake the reforms he might desire, and to effect legally and peacefully, as they only could, all he would seek to promote of eman-

cipation." Our hypothesis, as to his probable course, was afterward confirmed by that of one of his intimate friends, (quite as prominent an *English* abolitionist,) who traversed the whole United States as a minister of the gospel, and could not be drawn, North or South, into the measures of either party.

A personal reminiscence will interest some of our readers. We saw in him, in the spring of the year in which he died, the finest exhibition of a Christian rejuvenescence of which we can conceive. It was at the house of a pious friend of his, still an English M. P. "Mr. Wilberforce," said he, "is with me. Upon every common topic you will find his mind considerably impaired, but touch upon any religious subject and the difference is amazing. We can hardly rouse him with the names of any of his old political connections." Opportunely, on joining Mr. W., the conversation turned on topics that tested this. The House of Commons and some recent movements of the opposition there were mentioned. "What would Pitt have thought of this?" said our host. Mr. Pitt's old friend looked up for a moment, but could not be drawn into conversation. He was then told of some late inquiries in the House as to the office of the king's printer, and the manner in which the monopoly of printing the Bible had been conducted. "The chairman of the committee was Mr. H——." "Mr. H——, Mr. H——," said Wilberforce, "what does he know about the Bible?" "What would you think, then, sir, of one of the authorized presses having printed, in Heb. ix. 14, 'good works' for 'dead works.' 'The blood of Christ purge your conscience from good works?'" The effect of this question was electrical. It seemed to straighten his bent frame and to lighten up anew his expressive eyes. "Ha! ha! sir," he exclaimed, "which of them is it?" (feeling for his tablets and pencil.) "I must write to them immediately." And now for an unbroken hour and a half, various subjects of religious interest being introduced, he conversed with the greatest power and animation. It was literally a man's wisdom, or piety, altering his whole personal appearance to an extent we have in no other case seen. He became at once the leading spirit of the hour. In the midst of it he asked the writer, suddenly, if he had seen the edition of Dens' Theology, lately circulated in Ireland?—started to his feet and led the way to the library of the house, where, finding the work, he read out rapidly some of the instructions to the young priesthood, translating them as he went on, and exclaimed: "There—see what we may yet expect from Popery!"



"The unmeasured abundance of his wit" is mentioned by Brougham. Yet he was the leader of a party in the House of Commons called, in honorable reproach, "The Saints." Would to God there were such a party in every representative assembly in the world. We find in our common-place book some lines on this peculiar union of mental qualities in Mr. W., which we have not seen in the American notices of him.

"Wisdom and Wit, in England long divorced,  
Sought out their friends, the Commons and the Lords;  
The quarrel was but deepened and enforced;  
Wisdom was—policy; and Wit was—words!  
(Contrast more wide, what thought of man affords?)

"But Wilberforce, with piety his guide,  
Tried the sweet music of his still, small voice!  
The strife is hushed! And once more, side by side,  
These true born-lovers through three realms rejoice.  
Re-married, what could happier issue be,  
Than (nourish it, all lands!) a world-known *liberty*?

"For his was wisdom, cheerful as the day,  
The wit that sparkles while words work—or play!  
Wisdom, the food of souls, and wit the wine,  
Where fools can only eat while wise men dine."

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## ART. II.—SCRIPTURE FACTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(Continued from p. 424.)

### THE EASTERN PLOW.

This implement is differently made from what is customary among us. It is lightly built, has a wooden colter, is joined to the yoke by a pole, and has only one handle. I first saw it in use in the neighborhood of Gaza, the country of the Philistines. I often saw the peasants breaking up the soil and always with a plow having but one handle. The fashion of it recalled to my mind the manner in which the Saviour has expressed himself in reference to the inconstant and faithless disciple. "No man, having put his hand to the plow and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven." (Luke 9: 62.) It was interesting to remark this instance of nice and often unobserved conformity to oriental habits. Had the plow in that country been made as

ours is made, the language would have been, "No man having put his *hands* to the plow and looking back, is fit," &c. A learned commentator, uninformed in regard to this point, would be apt to talk of an *enallage* of number in the above passage, an exchange of the plural for the singular, for the sake of definiteness. As the soil is generally thin and the plow light, the machine glides rapidly over the surface; and unless the laborer keeps his eye continually on it, it is liable to slip aside, without breaking up the earth at all. The Saviour's illustration derives its pertinence from this circumstance. The plow is drawn by oxen, sometimes by camels, and also by cows and heifers. This use of heifers is recognized as an ancient practice in Judges 14: 18. As the driver of the team employs but one hand in holding the plow, the other hand is at liberty for carrying a goad. This is a very different affair from our ox-goad. Maundrell, who measured several of these goads, found them to be "about eight feet long, and at the biggest end six inches in circumference. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp pricker for driving the oxen, and at the other end with a small spade or paddle of iron, strong and massy for cleansing the plow from the clay that encumbers it in working." Those that I saw I should judge to be quite as large. It is manifest that such an instrument wielded by a strong arm, would do no mean execution. It is easy to credit the account of Shamgar's achievement, who made such havoc among his enemies with an ox-goad. See Judges 3: 31. We may suppose, (so fragmentary is the notice,) that he was not entirely alone; that some others rallied to his aid with such implements of labor as they could snatch at the moment.

#### THE FONTS AT TEKOA AND JUFNA.

The situation of Tekoa has been mentioned under a preceding head. Jufna, the Gophna of Josephus, is about three hours north of Jerusalem, on one of the ancient lines of communication between Jerusalem and Cesarea. The escort which conducted Paul by night from the Jewish capital to Cesarea, as related in Acts, took this town probably in their way. In descending the hill which overlooks the valley in which Jufna is situated, I noticed the traces of the old Roman pavement, which the report of previous travellers had prepared me to expect. They are as distinct in some places, as the remains of the Appian Way in Italy. Here, as well as at Tekoa, interesting ruins are still found, and among them are two fonts or baptisteries, which are supposed to have belong-

ed to Greek churches once existing in these ancient towns. Dr. Robinson, in his Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, says that these fonts could "never have been intended for the baptism of adult persons by immersion;" and he adduces this alleged impossibility as a proof that the Greek word for baptize, as employed in the New Testament, must have dropped occasionally its proper signification, and expressed simply, "the idea of *ablution* or *affusion*." I feel compelled to dissent from this opinion. I am persuaded that these fonts were intended for the immersion of adults, according to the Greek mode of baptism, and I can not understand why they should have been so large unless they were designed for that use. The Greek church, it is well known, practices immersion. That every minute circumstance of the administration of the rite is always the same, I would not affirm, nor is such uniformity essential to the question. The mode practiced in the East, as I was told, both by priests and laymen of the Greek community, is substantially this: the person baptized, if an adult, standing upright, sinks down directly beneath the water, while the hand of the administrator rests on his head, instead of leaning backward as is the custom in Western countries; or else falling first upon his knees, he leans the head forward and then bows down sufficiently to let the water flow over him and around him. The immersion is complete in both cases, though the amount of water required for the purpose is not the same. The fonts in question now, are, beyond dispute, large enough for baptizing in this way. The one at Tekoa is three feet nine inches deep, with an internal diameter at the top of four feet. A font of this size, it will be seen, reaches almost to the arms of a person of the ordinary height. It so happened that I visited the ruins at Tekoa in company with an individual of a different denominational connection from my own. He was not aware, as I have every reason to believe, of my own particular sentiments, and still less, of the fact that this font had been drawn into the dispute with reference to the mode of baptism; and yet his spontaneous exclamation, on coming within sight of the font was, that it was large enough for baptizing in the manner of those who immerse. The font at Jufna is somewhat smaller. It measures two feet nine inches deep, and four feet four inches in diameter within, or five feet, according to Dr. Robinson, who included probably the width of the rim. It is carved out of a single rock, in the form of a Greek cross on the inside, and is an elegant piece of workmanship. The capacity of this font, though it is not so deep as the other, is such both as to depth and width, that a person could sink on



his knees, incline the head forward and thus immerse the whole body without the least difficulty. Since the Greek mode of baptism, therefore, is that of immersion; since these two fonts belonged confessedly to Greek churches, and since they are large enough, (too large for the baptism of children,)\* for the immersion of adults, administered in the Greek mode, it is a reasonable conclusion that they were intended for that use. They would be awkward and unnecessarily large for sprinkling or affusion, and I can not conceive that they were ever made for that purpose. Why should these Greek churches have deviated from the practice of other Greek churches? It can not be said that they were unable to procure the necessary amount of water; for, in addition to the ruins of numerous cisterns at Tekoa, showing how ample were the artificial means possessed by the inhabitants for the preservation of water, a copious perennial fountain exists still in the immediate neighborhood. So, also, on the side of the hill, just before coming to Jufna, there is a fountain sending forth a brook which waters and fertilizes the whole valley.†

#### PRAYING ON THE HOUSE-TOPS.

Many of the roofs of the larger houses are surrounded by a wall or balustrade, two, three, or four feet high, so that a person there, while he has a view of the horizon on every side does not necessarily expose himself to any great extent, to the observation of others. It might seem to us without a knowledge of this fact, as if the apostle Peter was almost chargeable with a degree of ostentation, in repairing to the house-top for the performance of his devotions. The roof in this instance, however, may have had such a protection as I have mentioned, where the apostle would have been secure both from interruption and from public notice. Indeed, at Y-afa, the ancient Joppa, where the incident referred to in regard to Peter took place, I observed houses furnished with a wall around the roof, within which a person could sit or kneel, without any exposure to the view of others, either on the adjacent houses or in the streets. At Jerusalem, I enter-

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\* At Cairo I was present at the immersion of an infant in one of the Coptic churches. The font was very differently made and much smaller. I saw, also, a font intended for this use in the Greek church near the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem. It measured two feet in diameter, and one foot in depth.

† Dr. Robinson speaks of a pond, half an hour south of the ruins of the church at Jufna, from which the water flows in winter toward the Jordan. He says it was dry when he passed it on the thirteenth of June. When I saw it on the twenty-eighth of April, it was full of water and covered so much space as to appear like a small lake.

ed the house of a Jew early one morning and found a member of the family sitting, secluded and alone, on one of the lower roofs, engaged in reading the Scriptures and offering his prayers.

#### THE DECEITFUL BROOK.

On the second of April, I crossed a stone bridge over the bed of a stream to the right of the village of Kulonieh, an hour and a half north-west of Jerusalem. It was then entirely destitute of water. Prokèsch,\* a German traveler, who passed here a few weeks later in the season, speaks of it as a babbling stream when he saw it. Otto von Richter,† who was here in August, though he mentions the place under a wrong name, says that it contained then a little water. Salzbacher,‡ again, who saw the brook near the end of June, says that it was entirely dry. The stream is evidently a very uncertain one. It varies not only in winter and summer, but at the same season in different years. It may be taken, however, as a fair example of what is true of Eastern brooks in general. They flow with water during the rainy season; but, after that, are liable to be soon dried up, or if they contain water, contain it only for a longer or shorter time, according to their situation and the severity of the heat of particular years. Hence the traveler in quest of water, must often be disappointed when he comes to such streams. He may find them entirely dry; or, he may find the water gone at the place where he approaches them, though it may still linger in other places which elude his observation; he may perceive from the moisture of the ground that the last drops have just disappeared, and that he has arrived but a few hours too late for the attainment of his object. The chances of obtaining water in the desert are equally precarious. The winter torrents there, owing to the rapidity with which the sand absorbs them, are still more transient. The spring which supplied a well yesterday, may fail to-day; or, the drifting sand may choke it up, and obliterate every trace of it. On the ninth day of my journey, after leaving Cairo, we heard of a well at some distance from the regular course, and as the animals, (except the camels,) needed to be watered, we turned aside, to visit the place. We traveled for some miles over immense sand-heaps and under a burning sun, with the ther-

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\* Reise ins heilige Land, (1829,) p. 41.

† Wallfahrten im Morgenlande, (1815,) p. 15.

‡ Erinnerungen aus meiner Pilgerreise, (1837,) vol. ii., p. 31.

mometer at 90° of Fahrenheit. We were doomed to disappointment. We found the well at last, but without a drop of water in it that could be reached by us. The wind had blown the sand into it, and buried it up to such a depth, that all hope of relief from that source was cut off. This liability of a person in the East to be deceived and disappointed in his expectation of finding water, is the subject of repeated allusion in the Scriptures. In Job 6: 15, it furnishes an expressive image for representing the fickleness and treachery of false-hearted friends.

“ My brethren have dealt deceitfully like a brook,  
As the channel of brooks which pass away ;  
Which are turbid by reason of the ice,  
In which is hidden the melted snow.  
As soon as the waters flow off, they are gone ;  
When the heat comes, they vanish from their place.  
The caravans on their way turn aside ;  
They go up into the desert, and perish.  
The caravans of Tema search anxiously ;  
The wayfarers of Sheba look to them with hope.  
They are ashamed because they trusted in them ;  
They come to them, and are confounded.”

Our English version of the above passage fails to bring out the image distinctly. The foregoing translation may be made clearer, perhaps, by a word of explanation. The idea is, that in spring the streams are full ; they rush along swollen from the effect of the melting snow and ice. Summer comes, and they can no longer be trusted. Those journeying in the region of such streams, fainting with thirst, travel many a weary step out of the way, in quest of them, in the hope that water may still be found in them. They arrive at the place, but only to be disappointed. The deceitful brook has fled. They were in the last extremity, it was their last hope, and they die. Tema is a region in the north of the Arabian Desert ; Sheba a region of Arabia Felix.

The same comparison occurs in Jeremiah 15: 18.

“ Why is my affliction perpetual,  
And my wound incurable ?  
It will not be healed.  
Thou art to me as a lying brook,  
As waters which are not enduring.”

#### VALLEY OF DEATH SHADE.

Soon after leaving the Plain of Sharon, and beginning to ascend the hill country of Judea, we entered Wady Aly, as it is called. We pursued our course for some time along the



dry bed of a torrent which flows here in winter. It is a long, deep ravine, extremely wild and dreary on both sides. It is sometimes so narrow as scarcely to allow the traveler to pass between the rocky walls which inclose it. In some places these mount up so high, with overhanging crags, and are so thickly shaded at the top with clumps of bushes, as to spread a gloom, almost a twilight, over the chasm below. It was forcibly suggested to me that it may have been David's familiarity with such scenes, that led him to employ the expressive imagery in one of his Psalms, (23: 4:)

"When I walk through a valley of death-shade,  
I will fear no evil; for Thou\* art with me;  
Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me."

The recollection of the passage was the more striking, because I noticed occasionally on the hill-sides, flocks of goats and sheep, feeding on the shrubbery, or wandering from place to place, under the eye of the watchful shepherd. The mountainous parts of Palestine abound in such ravines; and it is only in a country where the scenery is marked by that peculiar feature, that the expression here referred to could come into use.

#### MODERN JEWISH CUSTOMS.

The Jewish population at Jerusalem has been differently estimated from three thousand to five or six thousand. The number varies no doubt from time to time. Among them may be found representatives from almost every country in the world, though the greater part of them consist of Spanish, German and Polish Jews. Many of the men are devoted to the study of the law, and are generally acquainted with the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and with the Rabbinic, while they speak, as their vernacular tongue, the language of the country where they were born, or whence their fathers emigrated. This fact agrees with the statement in Acts 2: 5, seq., where it is said that "there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven," and that they spoke the several languages of the countries to which they belonged. The modern Jews at Jerusalem have several synagogues which they attend, not promiscuously, but according to their national affinities. The

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\* That is, "Thou" who art the Great Shepherd. "Valley of death-shade" is an orientalism for a gloomy valley, one on which rests a death-like darkness. It denotes, metaphorically, any scene of sorrow and tribulation.

Spanish Jews, including those from Portugal and the northern coast of Africa, meet by themselves, in some of the synagogues, since they are too numerous to form a single congregation; and the German Jews, including those from Poland, Hungary and some other lands, meet by themselves in other synagogues. This fact, again, reminds us of something very similar to it in the time of Christ and the Apostles, and brought to view in Acts 6: 9. seq. We read there that the disputants who engaged in the discussion with Stephen, were connected with synagogues that were supported by distinct national communities. Some of them were from the synagogue of the Libertines, *i. e.*, Jewish freedmen, or the sons of freedmen who came from Rome; some from the synagogue of the Cilicians, (to which Paul belonged probably;) others from that of the Alexandrians, and so on. At Safet, in Northern Galilee, I learnt from the chief Rabbi, Jacob Berisch David, that the Jews there amounted to three thousand, and that they had eight synagogues, four of them appropriated to the use of the Spanish and Arabian Jews, and four of them to the use of the German and Polish Jews.

I attended the Jewish worship at Jerusalem, and was struck with the accordance of the ceremonies with those mentioned in the New Testament. The sacred roll was brought from the chest or closet where it was kept; it was handed by an attendant to the reader; a portion of it was rehearsed; the congregation rose and stood while it was read, whereas the speaker, as well as the others present, sat during the delivery of the address which formed a part of the service. In like manner we read that the Saviour, on a certain Sabbath, at Nazareth, "went into the synagogue, and stood up to read; and there was delivered to him the book (or roll) of the prophet Isaiah; and when he had read, he closed (properly, folded up) the book, and delivered it again to the servant and sat down;" and then proceeded to explain to the people the meaning of the Scriptures to which they had listened. See Luke 4: 16, seq.

The modern Jews are not unmindful of the ceremonial rites, especially of the ablutions which the Jews in ancient days regarded as so important in connection with their worship. Every synagogue has a bath under the same roof or in the vicinity, large enough for the immersion of the whole body. In one of the synagogues at Safet, an entire room is filled with such baths; one of them which I measured, was twelve feet and four inches long, and proportionally deep, with steps leading down into it. Its dimensions equal those of the swimming baths of the Greeks and Romans. Pros-

elyte baptism, as it is called, is still practiced among the Jews. When any one adopts their faith, he is immersed as a sign and seal of his admission into their community. A short time before my visit to Jerusalem, a Jew who had professed himself a Christian, renounced his new faith and returned to that of his fathers. The act of his immersion was performed in one of the synagogues at Jerusalem.

In one of the synagogues at Safet, I found a scribe engaged in making a copy of the law. A more elegant Hebrew manuscript, a more perfect specimen of the caligraphic art, I never saw, than that executed by this Jewish amanuensis. No printed page could surpass it in the beauty, symmetry and distinctness with which the characters were drawn. One peculiarity that struck me at once as I cast my eye over the parchment, was the horn-like appendage attached to some of the letters. I had seen the same mark, before this, in Hebrew manuscripts, but never when it was so prominent as here. The sign in question as connected with *Lamedh* in particular, had almost the appearance of an intentional imitation of a ram's head. It was to that appendage of the Hebrew letters that the Saviour referred when he said: "Not one jot or tittle" (*little horn* it is in the original Greek) "shall pass from the law until all be fulfilled." Matt. 5: 18. It was on one of the mounts in Galilee that the Saviour uttered these words; and it was exceedingly interesting to me to meet with such a proof, in the same country, that copies of the Old Testament are still made there, so minutely similar to those used in the synagogues when Christ himself preached in them.\*

#### SLIDING OF THE FEET.

A few hours beyond Wady Aly, on the side toward Jerusalem, I had my first experience of some of the worst evils of an Eastern road. It is hardly correct, indeed, to speak of such a thing as a road in Palestine. Carriages are now unknown there; and the thoroughfares consist merely of tracks worn by the feet of the beasts of burden. As the country is hilly, with the exception of a few extensive plains, and as the tops of the hills generally present a surface of denuded rocks, the paths over them are not only rugged and narrow, but often ascend and descend almost as steeply as a flight of

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\* As Safet may be in the territory that was assigned to the tribe of Zebulun, it might be thought worth mentioning, that among those who assisted Deborah and Barak, it is said that "out of Zebulun were they that handle the pen of the writer;" but those words require probably a different translation.



stairs. Nothing but the singular expertness of the animals trained to this sort of traveling, enables them to climb these heights and maintain their footing; and, as it is, missteps may occur, not a little dangerous. In addition to this, the paths conduct one often to the edge of precipices and fissures, which expose him still more. Stepping a few feet the wrong way, perhaps treading on a rolling stone, or the sudden start of his horse or mule, may cause his destruction. Of this character was a part of the way between Kuryet-El-Enab, supposed to be the ancient Kirjath Jearim, and Jerusalem. We were obliged to dismount in some places, and pick our way on foot. This physical configuration of the country and the nature of the roads, have originated a mode of speaking in the Bible, the force of which is not always perceived. I refer to the passages which represent it as so calamitous a thing for the traveler to fall, stumble, have his feet slide, and the like. Thus it is said of the wise son in Proverbs 3: 23: "Then shalt thou walk in thy way safely, and thy foot shall not stumble." See also Prov. 4: 12. In Jeremiah 31: 9, the safety of a straight path is opposed to one in which men are liable to stumble. See, also, Jer. 50: 32. In Psalm 38: 17, the Psalmist prays that his enemies might not "rejoice over him when his foot slippeth;" and in Ps. 66: 9, he says of the righteous, that God "holdeth their soul in life, and suffereth not their feet to be moved." In Deut. 22: 35, God says of the wicked: "To me belongeth vengeance and recompense; their foot shall slide in due time." I can never forget the vividness with which the significance of this figure in such applications as the last, was brought home to me on one particular occasion. I was going from Tekoa to Khureitun, where is one of the most remarkable caves in Palestine, called traditionally the cave of Adullam, though without sufficient reason. The road crowded us into a narrow foot-path between a high cliff on the right hand, and an immense ravine, hundreds of feet deep, on the left. It was almost enough to make the head reel to look into the horrid chasm. A slight confusion of mind, a shelving rock, a slip of the foot, would have hurled horse and rider to destruction in a moment. As an image of the doom of the wicked, what could be more expressive to the minds of those familiar with such places, than the words, "their feet shall slide in due time."

It was an interesting thought to me as I was approaching Jerusalem, that one instance of this language occurs in one of the Psalms of Degrees or Pilgrimages, (121: 3, 4)—a class of Psalms composed for the use of the Hebrews, as they went up to celebrate the yearly festivals in the capital of the

nation. Nothing could be more natural than that the pious worshiper, after having surmounted the peculiar dangers of such a journey, should single out his exemption from the casualties of the way, as a special mark of the divine goodness to him.

"He suffers not thy foot to slide,  
Thy keeper slumbers not.  
Behold, he neither slumbers nor sleeps  
Who is the keeper of Israel."

How often may these words have given utterance to the grateful joy with which the pilgrim from Galilee, who had crossed the steep mountains of Ephraim, or the pilgrim from the south of Judah, who had pursued his way over lofty summits and along the verge of precipices, having reached at length the Holy City, has looked back, almost with shuddering, upon the perils which attended his steps, and blessed the care which watched over him and brought him in safety to the goal of his hopes and desires.

"Standing now are our feet,  
Within thy gates, O Jerusalem,  
Whither go up the tribes,  
The tribes of Jehovah, as prescribed to Israel,  
To give thanks to the name of Jehovah.  
Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;  
May they prosper who love thee.  
May peace be within thy walls,  
Prosperity within thy palaces."\*

#### PAUL'S ESCAPE AT DAMASCUS.

In Acts 9: 24, 25, we read that the Jews at Damascus sought to kill Paul, and "watched the gates day and night," for that purpose; but "the disciples took him by night and let him down through the wall in a basket." In 2 Cor. 11: 33, the Apostle says that he "was let down in a basket through a window through the wall." How do these two expressions stand related to each other? The common view is, that the house where Paul was secreted was built on the wall, with a window overhanging it; so that he could be said, as in the Acts, to have been let down "*through the wall*," without any reference to the house, or as in Corinthians, to have been let down "*through a window through the wall*." Compare Joshua 2: 15 and 1 Sam. 19: 12. I saw houses built in this manner on the walls, in some of the Eastern cities. But there is room for another explanation. A

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\* See Ps. 122, seq.

few steps to the left of Bab-es-Shurkeh, the gate on the east side of Damascus, I observed two or three windows in the external face of the wall, opening into houses on the inside of the city. If Saul was let down through such a window, (which belongs equally to the house and the wall,) it would be still more exact to interchange the two expressions; that is, we could say, as in the Acts, that he escaped "through the wall," or as in the Epistle, that he escaped "through a window through the wall." As I stood with a friend who resided at Damascus, looking at the place referred to, a couple of men came to the top of the wall with a broad, flat basket, full of rubbish, which they emptied over the wall. "Such a basket," said my friend, "the people use here for almost every sort of thing. If they are digging a well and wish to send a man down into it, they put him into such a basket; and that those who aided Paul's escape should have used a basket for the purpose, was entirely natural, according to the present customs of the country. Judging from what is done now, it is the only sort of vehicle of which men would be apt to think under such circumstances." Pilgrims are admitted into the monastery at Mount Sinai in a similar manner. A rope, with a basket attached to it, is let down from a window or door, about thirty feet above the ground. Those who are to ascend, seat themselves, one after another, in this basket and are thus drawn up by means of a pulley or windlass, turned by those in the convent.

#### USE OF TENTS IN THE EAST.

The use of tents in Africa and Western Asia extends back to the earliest times. In Gen. 4: 20, it is said that Jabal "was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle." Abraham was a tenant of one of these changeable abodes during all his life. Of Isaac we read that he "pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar and dwelt there," (Gen. 12: 8.) "Jacob was a plain man, dwelling in tents," (Gen. 25: 27.) The Hebrews lived in tents during all their sojourn in the wilderness. Though they had towns and houses of stone, after they took possession of the promised land, many of them still led a wandering, pastoral life, and occupied tents, like their fathers. Such statements as the following are frequent in the Old Testament. "On the eighth day Solomon sent the people away; and they blessed the king and went unto their tents," (1 Kings 8: 66.) "Every man to his tents, O Israel," (2 Samuel 20: 1,) was the common watchword for dismissing the people to their homes. "And the people fled into their tents," (2 Kings 8: 21.) "And



the children of Israel dwelt in their tents, as beforetime," (2 Kings 13: 5.) Gideon "sent all the rest of Israel, every man unto his tent," (Judges 7: 8.) A great part of the inhabitants of the East live in the same way at the present time. A custom, so universal and permanent, would be expected to influence the language of the people. Many scriptural illustrations are drawn from this source. The poetry of David, who was a shepherd's son, abounds in reminiscences of his first occupation. Some of the most touching passages in the history of the patriarchs are connected with their tent-life. The great Apostle of the Gentiles, it will be remembered, was a tent-maker.

It was my lot to live in one of these primitive abodes for several weeks. This gave me an opportunity to form some acquaintance with this phase of oriental life. The tents used by foreigners are not like those of the natives, in all respects; but they are so far fashioned after the same model, and employed under circumstances so similar, that the traveler is constantly reminded of allusions to this subject in the Bible, and led to perceive a force in them, which nothing but some experience of this kind could so adequately disclose to him.

The pitching of the tent forms the first labor, at the close of the day, in preparing for the night. An upright pole is fixed in the ground, and the canvas is then stretched out around it, by means of cords, fastened at one end to the upper part or roof of the tent, having loop-holes at the other end, through which a stake or wooden peg is passed and then driven into the ground with a mallet. The tents of the Arabs are secured in the same manner, though when occupied by families they are larger and rest often on a frame-work of several poles. Every one sees here the origin of a mode of speaking, which shows clearly where the Scriptures were written. It is said of God, as the Creator: "He stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in," (Isaiah 40: 22.) The prophet, as he looks forward to a happier day for the people of God, says: "Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken," (Isaiah 33: 20.) Again, in anticipation of accessions to their number, he exclaims: "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and the left," (Isaiah 54: 2.)

The putting up and taking down of the tent, at the present day, is the same operation, beyond doubt, that it was in the time when the Bible was written. The nails and mallet, or hammer, are mentioned as a part of the "household stuff," in the story of Jael and Sisera. Many a traveler can say, with Lord Lindsay, that he never saw a tent-pin driven, without calling to mind that narrative (Judges 4: 17, seq.) Our English version obscures a part of the meaning, in certain passages. Thus, in Gen. 12: 9, where it is said, "Abraham journeyed, going on still," a more literal translation would be, "He pulled up" viz., his tent-pins, "going and pulling up," *i. e.*, from day to day, as he proceeded. So, in Gen. 33: 12, instead of "Let us take our journey and let us go," it should be, "Let us strike our tents," *i. e.*, by pulling up the pins, "and let us go." The same allusion occurs in Gen. 35: 21; 46: 1; Ex. 13: 20, and elsewhere.

The tents of the East seldom remain long in the same place. The traveler erects his temporary abode for the night, takes it down in the morning, and journeys onward. The shepherds of the country, also, are constantly moving from one place to another. The brook fails, on which they relied for water, or the grass, required for the support of their flocks, is consumed, and they wander to a new station. "There is something very melancholy," writes Lord Lindsay, "in our morning flittings. The tent-pins are plucked up, and in a few minutes a dozen holes, a heap or two of ashes, and the marks of the camels' knees in the sand, soon to be obliterated, are the only traces left of what has been, for a while, our home." Hence this rapid change of situation, this removal from one spot to another, without being able to foresee to-day where the wanderer will abide to-morrow, affords a striking image of man's life—so brief, fleeting, uncertain. Thus Hezekiah felt, in the near prospect of death: "Mine age is departed, and is removed from me as a shepherd's tent," (Isaiah 38: 12.) Jacob calls his life "a pilgrimage," (Gen. 47: 9,) with reference to the same expressive idea. The body, as the temporary home of the soul, is called a "tent" or "tabernacle," because it is so frail and perishable. Thus Paul says, in 2 Cor. 5: 1: "For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved," (*taken down* is the proper term,) "we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." The apostle Peter employs the same figure. "Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance; knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me," (2 Peter 1: 13.)

## THORNS.

Every one who has been in Palestine must have been struck with the number of thorny shrubs and plants that abound there. The traveler finds them in his path, go where he may. Many of them are small, but some grow as high as a man's head. The Rabbinical writers say that there are no less than twenty-two words in the Hebrew Bible denoting thorny and prickly plants. The prevalence of such shrubs, say agriculturalists, shows a luxuriant soil. If proper care be not taken, they soon get the upper hand and spread in every direction. "I went by the field of the slothful—and lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof," (Prov. 24: 30, 31.) "The way of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns; but the way of the righteous is made plain," (Prov. 15: 19.) "Break up your fallow ground," says the prophet, "and sow not among thorns," (Jer. 4: 3.) As descriptive of the desolation of Edom; it is said: "Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof." The crown put on the head of the Saviour was made of thorns. (Matt. 27: 29.) The sharp points, as the soldiers "smote him with a reed," may have been driven into his head, piercing and tearing the flesh. A species of thorn now very common near Jerusalem, bears the name of *Spina Christi*, or *Christ's thorn*. The people of the country gather these bushes and plants and use them as fuel. As it is now, so it was of old. "As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool," (Eccl. 7: 6.) "Before your pots can feel the thorns," *i. e.*, the fire of them, "he shall sweep them away," (Psalm 58: 9.) "As thorns cut up shall they be burned in fire," (Isaiah 33: 12.)

In Judges 8: 7, Gideon threatens to "tear the flesh" of the princes of Succoth, (a town on the east of the Jordan,) "with the thorns of the wilderness, and with briers," because they refused to supply his men with bread, as he was "pursuing Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian." On his return, after defeating his enemies, he executed that threat. "He took the elders of the city, and thorns of the wilderness, and briers, and with them he taught the men of Succoth." Dr. Smith, missionary at Beirut, who, in company with Dr. Robinson, has recently visited the Jordan, in that neighborhood, told me that he found thorn-bushes and brambles still growing there, of a remarkable size. Some of the taller thistles rose above his head, though he was riding on horse-



back. A lesson, he says, enforced with such instruments, must have been effectually taught.

#### THE ANCIENT AND THE MODERN JERUSALEM.

In the hundred and twenty-second Psalm, a company of Hebrew pilgrims (the Psalm was written for the use of such) exclaim, on entering the Holy City, and lifting up their eyes to the scene around them:

" O Jerusalem, thou that art builded,  
As a city that is compacted together,  
Whither the tribes go up," &c.

The meaning is, that the city was built up in all its parts, had no unoccupied room, no waste places. Jerusalem, as it is now, illustrates, by way of contrast, that language. The circuit of the modern city is hardly more than two miles, and yet not all, even of this limited space, is inhabited. In the neighborhood of the Jews' quarter, there is a considerable tract, partly overrun with the Indian fig or prickly pear, and partly covered with ruins and rubbish of every sort. Bezetha, a hill at the north end of the city, between the Damascus gate and St. Stephen's gate, offers many vacant "lots" on which buildings might be erected. On one spot, just within the gate of St. Stephen, on the right hand, I noticed two or three Arab tents spread out and occupied, after the manner of the desert. We see the import, therefore, of the Psalmist's language; he would describe Jerusalem as well "built, compacted together," unlike a city which has a territory disproportioned to the number of its inhabitants, or one which has declined from its prosperity and fallen into a state of decay.

#### THE SMOKE OF SODOM AS SEEN FROM HEBRON.

At the time of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham was dwelling in his tent by the oak of Mamre, near Hebron. (Gen. 18: 1.) On the morning after that awful catastrophe, it is said that "he looked toward" the site of those cities, "and all the land of the plain, and beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace," (Gen. 19: 28.) If this statement had been made at random, the writer might have mistaken the bearing of these places with reference to each other. Suppose travelers had come back, saying that the region of the Dead Sea is not visible from the neighborhood of Hebron, what a shock it would have given to our confidence in the Bible! Every

one feels that it would be a serious difficulty. But no such objection can now be made. So far from it, the geography of the Pentateuch agrees here perfectly with a modern map. From the height which overlooks Hebron, the observer has an extensive view spread out before him, toward the Dead Sea. The hills of Moab, sloping down toward that sea, on the east, and a part of Idumea, are all in sight. A cloud of smoke, rising from the plain, would be visible to a person at Hebron now, and could have been, therefore, to Abraham, as he looked toward Sodom after its destruction by Jehovah.

#### THE FIG-TREE PEELED.

The prophet Joel, (1 : 7,) in describing the ravages of a swarm of locusts, speaks of them as alighting on the fig-trees, peeling off the bark with their teeth, and then leaving them entirely white, after completing this work of devastation. From the prophet's singling out the fig-tree\* as exhibiting this appearance, one would suppose the wood of this tree to have a peculiar whiteness, which other trees do not possess in the same degree. On meeting with the fig-tree, for the first time, I was curious to ascertain whether this expectation was well-founded or not. I broke off some of the tender twigs, removed the bark, and was pleased to find that the result confirmed my conjecture. Though I examined several other trees, with reference to the same point, I satisfied myself that no one of them would present to the eye so remarkable an object as the fig-tree, with its bark stripped off from top to bottom. To look over a landscape and see a multitude of these trees leafless, newly peeled, exposing to view the white wood, so peculiar to them as compared with other trees, would impress the spectator strongly with an idea of the desolating power of the locust; it was a master-stroke of the poet to fix on that circumstance for the purpose of conveying such an idea.

#### SIGN OF SUMMER.

The leaves of the fig-tree make their appearance late in the season. The other trees I found to be quite in advance of this, in this respect. Upon this circumstance is founded Christ's saying: "When its branch is already tender and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh," (Matt. 27: 32.) As the spring is far advanced before the leaves of the

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\* Some, I am aware, suppose the prophet to refer to the vine, as well as the fig-tree, but there are critical reasons which decide against that view.

fig-tree appear, (the early fruit, indeed, comes first,) a person may be sure, as soon as he sees the foliage, that summer is at hand.

The fig-tree has another peculiarity. It produces no visible blossoms. It has blossoms, but they are concealed in the corolla; so that the ancients generally, even Plutarch and Pliny, believed that the fig-tree did not blossom at all. Hence, in striking agreement with this fact, though we read in the Old Testament of the flower of the almond, of the lily, of the olive, and of the pomegranate, we never read of the flower of the fig-tree. One of our religious hymns says of the barren fig-tree, which disappoints the hopes of the cultivator:

"It yields no fruit, no blossom bears,  
Though planted by his hands."

This reference to the blossom, since it does not show itself to the eye, is out of place in such a description. It betrays the foreign writer. A native writer, accustomed to the fig-tree, would not be apt to mention it. A critic might have seized on such an expression in the prophets or in the parables of Christ as evidence that they never lived in Palestine. Habakkuk has not committed the error which our version ascribes to him. He should be rendered as saying: "Although the fig-tree should not *bear*," not "blossom," (Hab. 3: 17.)

#### TRANSMISSION OF SCRIPTURE NAMES.

The transmission, through so many centuries, of the biblical names of places in the Holy Land, is a standing monument of the truth of the Bible. It is hard to extirpate the aboriginal names of a country. The race which is spreading over British India, at the present day, when they plant a *new* town, now and then give to it a new name. The old places, on the contrary, retain their old names. The Romans, who extended their arms over Gaul, Britain, and parts of Germany, originated but few, very few of the names now borne by the cities and villages in those countries. Even when the earlier inhabitants have disappeared before the new comers, as in the case of the Etruscans in Italy, or the Indians in some parts of America, they have left traces of their language behind them. Our own mountains and rivers, with their Indian appellations, are not more enduring than the proofs that an older race inhabited these shores before our forefathers came to them. If, then, the records of the Old Testament are true, the successive waves of conquest that have



swept over Palestine, can not have obliterated all the marks of early times. If the towns, mentioned as existing there in the age of Abraham, Joshua, and David, existed really, it must be possible to identify many of them still. As, on the one hand, the impossibility of finding any trace of them now would discredit the sacred historians, so, on the other, the discovery of the same names applied to existing localities, their preservation, notwithstanding so many invasions of Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Saracens, Crusaders, and Turks, who have overrun the country at different times, becomes a striking witness to the truth of the Scriptures. It is ascertained that probably one-half of the principal towns mentioned in the history of Joshua's conquest of Canaan, occupy their ancient sites. To these should be added others that are first mentioned in the Old Testament, at a later period. They bear the same names as in ancient times, slightly changed, in conformity with the Arabic, the spoken language of the East. Their position agrees with the geographical notices of the Bible. Thus, *Shiloh*, where the ark of the covenant was kept, in the days of the Judges, exists still as *Siloun*. The full Hebrew form as can be shown, was *Shilon*. In Judges 21: 19, this place is said to have been "on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem and on the south of Lebonah." I visited Siloun or Shiloh on the twenty-ninth of April, having lodged the previous night at Beitin, the ancient Bethel, a few miles to the south, and on the same day passed El-Lebbun, the Lebonah of Scripture, a little to the north of Shiloh, as I pursued "the highway" to Nablous, the ancient Shechem. The identification of this last place, rests on the surest historical testimony. At Main, the Maon of Nabal, (1 Samuel 25: 2,) near Hebron, the traveler has in view, at once, nine different places which retain their ancient names, but slightly modified. Among other examples, illustrating the similarity of the ancient and modern names, we may mention Anata for Anathoth, Akka for Acco, Makmas for Michmash, Beit Lahm for Bethlehem, Ghuzzeh for Gaza, Yafa for Joppa, Jebah for Gibeah, Nasirah for Nazareth, Nein for Nain, Endor unchanged, Esdud for Ashdod, Askulan for Askelon, Ludd for Lydda, Sur for Tyre, Saida for Sidon, Bireh for Beer, Mejdal for Magdala, Sarafend for Sarepta, Jeba for Geba, Jelbon for Gilboa, Ram for Ramah, Selwan for Siloam, Tubariyeh for Tiberias, Jebna for Jabneh, Hulhul for Halhul, Tekua for Tekoa, Beisan for Beth-Shean, Kana for Cana, Kurmul for Carmel, Yalo for Ajalon, Gazur for Geser, &c. These I mention as

examples, merely, and mention these in preference to others, that would be equally pertinent, because they happen to be among the places which it was my good fortune to visit or to have a sight of.\*

What is worthy of special note, is, that many of these names have been brought to light recently. Some of them have hardly been mentioned in books since they were last mentioned in the Bible, till the present century or the last. Geographers and tourists have traversed the land, and as they have asked the inhabitants to tell them the names of their villages, have had the old Scripture names given back to them from the mouths of the people.

#### FERTILITY OF PALESTINE.

Mr. Meshullum, a converted Jew, at the head of a small agricultural colony in the valley of Urtas, the ancient Etham, near the Pools of Solomon, took possession of that valley a few years ago, when it would have seemed, to a casual observer, to be quite useless. This is a somewhat extended, narrow Wady, between hills that look like walls of rock, in some places five hundred feet high. The natives had forsaken it; it had been left to run to waste, and appeared arid and unproductive. A small tract only was cultivated under the supervision of the Greek community at Jerusalem. The attempt to reclaim it was a doubtful experiment. The individual mentioned proceeded to remove the rubbish which choked up the soil, cleared out a spring that had almost disappeared, and obtained from it a supply of water sufficient for irrigating a great part of the valley. The scene is now changed. Fields of grain, when I was there, on the nineteenth and twentieth of April, were growing along the bottom of the Wady. Fruit-trees are abundant and thriving. Mr. Meshullum told me, as an instance of the fertility of the land and climate, that he put a peach-stone into the ground in autumn and obtained fruit from it the same year. In addition to the proper products of the East, he has introduced the cultivation of some of our most useful vegetables and with entire success. He says that five different crops of vegetables, that come on one after another, may be raised on the same field. Nor are the sides of these rocky hills to be neglected. They furnish, he assured me, the best possible situation for planting vines; and he was designing, the next year, to build a row of terraces from the

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\* Any one who will consult the "Arabic Index," at the end of the third volume of Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, will be able to extend this list somewhat further.

top to the bottom of them, for the cultivation of grapes. All this has taken place in a spot that would be considered inferior to many parts of the country. What, then, must it have been in its palmy days! What an aspect of beauty and abundance must have greeted the eye when the hand of culture was put forth everywhere to improve and adorn it! What would such a soil and such a climate deny to an industry enjoying the protection of a stable and judicious government! Neglected as the country now is, many a scene passed under my eye, during my journey, to which I could apply still the words of the Psalmist:

“Thou (O God) visitest the earth and enrichest it;  
 Thou dost *abundantly* enrich it;  
 The river of God is full of water.  
 Thou providest their corn when thou hast so prepared it, (the earth,)  
 Her furrows thou dost water,  
 Thou dost level her ridges;  
 With large drops of rain thou dost cause the earth to flow,  
 Her springing thou dost bless.  
 Thou crownest the year with thy goodness,  
 And thy paths drop fatness.  
 They drop fatness on the pastures of the wilderness,  
 And with rejoicing the hills gird themselves.  
 Clothed are the pastures with flocks,  
 And the valleys are covered over with corn;  
 They shout for joy; yea, they sing.”\*

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#### ART. III.—BOURDALOUE.

*The Preacher and the King; or, Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV. Being an account of the Pulpit Eloquence of that distinguished Era.* Translated from the French of L. Bungener. Paris, 12th Edition. With an Introduction, by the Rev. GEORGE POTTS, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853.

*Œuvres de Bourdaloue. Chez Lefevre, Libraire Editeur.*  
 Tom. 1—III. A Paris, 1834.

THE career of a minister of religion presents few, if any, of those striking incidents which attract the notice of the histo-

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\* I have availed myself of a translation of this passage from the pen of the lamented Edwards.



rian. His life is comparatively obscure; and his sphere of labor, so far as its results are visible to men, is extremely limited. His work has reference chiefly to the things which are not seen, and his record is on high. In the most appropriate duties of his calling, the world knows him not: hence his usefulness is not to be measured by the extent of his earthly fame. Many an humble ecclesiastic, whose name has perished with the memory of those who once breathed it with affection and gratitude, will be found, hereafter, to have done more real good, to have labored more efficiently in promoting the great design of the sacred office, than those dignitaries whose miters have glittered amid the splendor of courts; whose genius has swayed the policy of governments, and decided the fate of empires.

Bourdaloue left behind him but scanty materials for the biographer. It is to his honor, that his name nowhere appears on those familiar pages which have given a world-wide celebrity to the Bishop of Meaux. It was not his lot to be the counselor of kings, the tutor of princes, and "the soul of assembled fathers." Devoted with singular exclusiveness to the specific engagements of his calling, he impressed no mark upon the secular history of his times; and although a laborious minister of the communion to which he belonged, little of his personal history is known. The little that we do know, however, increases our desire to learn more. That he was greatly beloved and admired—that his ministry attracted a degree of attention hitherto unknown in France, drawing immense crowds, and winning universal applause—that he was regarded by the Jesuits as the pride and ornament of their order, and by their enemies as a singular exception to its general character—that Colbert, one of the few genuine men of his times, appealed to him for spiritual direction in his last hours; the unhappy Valliere poured her penitential sorrows into his bosom, and selected him to preach the sermon on her retreat to the cloister; and Madame de Maintenon solicited him, though without success, to become her confessor—that his name has come down to us, almost, if not altogether, free from reproach, in an age and among a people addicted to scandal—that great men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him—all this we know; and this commends him to our regard, and awakens our curiosity to learn more. But we must be content for the most part, with eulogies instead of facts, the opinions of others, rather than our own. Cardinal de Bausset informs us, that he was "the only man of superior merit who had neither en-

emies nor detractors ;”\* and Beaumelle, whose antipathy to the Society evinces the sincerity of his commendation, says, that “his conduct and his sermons were the best refutation of the *Lettres Provinciales*.”† Bishop Huet—nobilissimus Huetius, that erudite old gentleman, whose name, with its accompaniment of Latin superlatives, rises so pleasantly to our memory, now that we have forgiven him the annoyances with which he disturbed the bliss of our boyhood—the editor of the *Delphin Classics*, thus expresses his love for his brother Jesuit: “I have met with an occasion of severe distress in the death of Louis Bourdaloue, by far the first preacher of the gospel in this age; for whom I had a peculiar friendship, as well on account of the many kindnesses I had received from him, as of the amiable qualities of his mind; for his breast was so open as to be, as it were, pellucid, and no one could be more agreeable from liveliness of imagination and cheerfulness of disposition.”‡ With similar warmth of affection, he is mentioned by Bretonneau, the editor of his works; by Father Martineau, his confessor, and by the President De Lamoignon, Marquis de Basville.§ These tributes to Bourdaloue are found in the preface to his works.

Bourdaloue was born at Bourges, in 1632, the year that gave to the world of letters, Spinoza, Flechier, and John Locke. Pascal, Bossuet, and Mascaron, were born somewhat earlier; Malebranche, Leibnitz, and Bayle, a few years later. His was an age of extraordinary intellectual life. Besides the celebrated individuals whom we have mentioned, he was a contemporary of John Howe, Tillotson, Sherlock, South, Stillingfleet, Cudworth and others, in Great Britain. In 1648, he entered the Society of Jesus. His earliest sermons, delivered in the provinces, indicated the possession of a rare gift for eloquence, and commended him to his superiors, as a suitable person to maintain the reputation of the order in the pulpits of the metropolis. There, his reputation soon reached the court; and the monarch having expressed a wish to hear him, he appeared before him, for the first time, in 1670. So great was his success, that he was appointed to preach the Lent sermons for 1672–74–75–80–82, and the

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\* Vie de Bossuet, i., 164.

† Vie de Maintenon, ii., 128.

‡ *Memoirs of the Life of Daniel Huet, &c.* Written by himself. Translated from the original Latin, by John Aiken, M. D. ii., 368. London, 1810.

§ A very different character from his brother, the intendant of Languedoc, who covered himself with laurels at the head of his dragoons, in the *mission bottée*—apostles in jackboots—whom Louis commissioned to give the Huguenots their exposition of the faith, after that of Bossuet had failed.

Advent sermons for 1684-86-89-91-93. In 1686, the year after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he was dispatched by the king on a mission to Montpellier, to recommend the true faith to the heretics of that region, and supply the newly converted with the reason why. During the latter years of his life, he seldom occupied the pulpit, preferring to devote his time to the duties of the confessional, and the visitation of the sick and the unhappy, a task for which he seems to have possessed a peculiar adaptation. He died, at the age of seventy-two, May 13, 1704, the year that the Gallican Church mourned the loss of its great luminary, Bossuet; "admired by his age," according to the *Dictionnaire Historique*, "and respected even by the enemies of the Jesuits."

A few years before his decease, as we learn from Bretonneau, he desired to retire from Paris, and spend his remaining days in some one of the provincial houses of the order, devoted exclusively to the care of his soul, and to preparation for death; and for this purpose, he made application to the general of the Company in Rome. Defeated in his application by the intervention of his superiors, who were reluctant to be deprived of his services, he renewed it, successfully, the following year; but his superiors again interposed, and induced the general to revoke his permission, and retain Bourdaloue in Paris, where he remained until his decease. His letter to the general is so characteristic of the man and of the religious system which he professed, that we must give it to our readers.

*"My very Reverend Father.*—God inspires and even urges me to have recourse to your paternity to supplicate most humbly, yet most earnestly, that you would grant me what I have not been able to obtain, notwithstanding all my efforts, from the father provincial. It is now sixty years that I have lived in the company, not for myself, but for others; at least more for others than for myself. A thousand affairs divert and hinder me from laboring as much as I desire, for my own perfection, which, after all, is the one thing needful. I desire to retire and to lead henceforth a more tranquil life; more tranquil, I say, in order that it may be more regular and more holy. I feel that my body is becoming feeble and tending to its end. I have finished my course, and would to God I could add I have been faithful. I am now at an age in which I feel myself no longer in a condition to preach. Permit me, I conjure you, to employ the residue of my life solely for God and myself, and thus prepare myself for a pious death. Let La Fleche, or any other house which may please my superiors, (for I have no particular choice, provided I am removed from Paris,) be the place of my repose. There, forgetting the things of the world, I will review, before God, all the years of my life, in the bitterness of my soul. This is the subject of all my desires," &c.

We confess we have no sympathy with the desire—"the sublime selfishness," as Bungener terms it—which this letter



discloses ; we much prefer the spirit of the veteran Whitefield, who craved the privilege of dying on the field of battle, with his harness on ; but there is an earnest and touching simplicity about it, that renders it peculiarly attractive. It affords also, melancholy evidence of Rome's pernicious influence on the minds of her most enlightened votaries. We turn away in sadness, from the contemplation of a vigorous mind, like Bourdaloue's, appalled by superstitious fears, and seeking a retreat from the duties of the pulpit, to grapple, at leisure, with the terrific phantom of death. But such is the hard lot of the vassals of Rome. The assurance of faith, the unruffled tranquillity with which Paul anticipated the time of his departure, forms no part of her teachings. Even in the trying article of death, she consigns her children to doubt and dismay. Such was the fate of Bourdaloue.

On Whitsunday, he officiated at mass, for the last time, in a condition of severe bodily suffering, and thence withdrew to his chamber to die. On the morning of the next day, he prepared himself, by confession, for the last sacraments. "He regarded himself," says the editor of his works, "as a criminal condemned to death by the sentence of Heaven. In that condition, he presented himself to divine justice. He acquiesced in the sentence, which had been pronounced against him, and was about to be executed. 'I have abused life,' he said to God, 'I deserve that thou shouldst take it away, and I submit to so just a chastisement with all my heart.' He united his death to that of Jesus Christ, and concurring in the intentions of the dying Saviour on the cross, he offered himself as a victim, to honor, by the destruction of his body, the supreme majesty of God, and to appease his wrath. Not content with this sacrifice, he consented to suffer all the pains of purgatory. 'For it is most reasonable,' said he, 'that God should be fully satisfied, and at least in purgatory, I will suffer with patience and love.' " The next day he died. These were all the consolations which Rome had to offer, in his dying hours, to one who had spent forty years in her ministry. Whitefield passed from the pulpit to a dying bed illumined with the glories of Paradise ; Bourdaloue, to one red-dened by the lurid fires of purgatory.

It is difficult to form a correct estimate of the moral character of Bourdaloue. His contemporaries gave him credit for frankness and courage ; and Bungener invests him with the grandeur of moral heroism. He has contrived, by means of an ingenious dramatic fiction, to place him before us as the intrepid ambassador of the King of kings, smiting the royal image of lust and pride, in the very presence of its idol-

aters. It would be a relief to us to be able to believe that there was even one honest and fearless preacher at the court of Louis XIV., that Bourdaloue was found "faithful among the faithless;" but in the absence of any evidence of the fact, nay, with the abundant evidence of contrary to be found in his own sermons, we must avow our conviction that whatever may have been his merits, he was neither a Nathan nor a John the Baptist, and that the attempt of Bungener to make him either, is a falsification of the truth of history. But of this more anon. We must present to our readers some specimens of his *compliment au roi*. Let us see how he addresses the royal libertine.

In a sermon on the last judgment, having referred to the case of Paul preaching before Felix, when he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, (Bourdaloue quotes from the Vulgate, *castitate*,) and judgment to come, he adds:

"I have neither the zeal nor the eloquence of St. Paul, but I have the advantage of preaching before a Christian, a most Christian king, before a king docile to the truths of religion, and disposed not only to hear, but to profit by them. Thus, I have a right to hope for my ministry, all unworthy as I am, a much more happy success." *Ceuvres*, tome i., 12.

In a sermon on the severity of repentance, he avows his determination to proclaim the mercy as well as the justice of God, and breaks out into the following apostrophe:

"Maintaining these principles, O my God, I will fear nothing; and even in the presence of the kings of the earth, I will speak of the obligations of thy law, like David, without confusion. 'I will speak thy testimonies before kings, and will not be ashamed.' I speak, Lord, before the first king in the world; and never has a minister of the gospel had the honor to carry the word to so great a prince. Not only is he the greatest king in the world, but what makes his person still more august, he is the most Christian of kings, the most powerful protector of thy church, a king zealous for religion, the enemy of impiety, and one who will never suffer libertinism to raise itself against thee with impunity; a king who loves the truth, of whom I may well say, as St. Ambrose said of Theodosius, that he approves those who reprehend vice rather than those who flatter it—an eulogium which is appropriate only to great souls, and distinguishes them from others. Such is the monarch before whom I preach. But though I should speak before kings of the world the most unbelieving and the most inimical to thy name, I should tell them, with a respectful confidence, that which thou wouldst have them know, &c." I., 55.

Bourdaloue makes a show of courage, but that is all. One honest reprimand of the king, the culprit before him, would have been worth all this harmless bravado. His attitude is more apt to remind us of Belial than of Paul.

"He seemed  
For dignity composed and high exploit:  
But all was false and hollow."

In a sermon on the nativity of Christ, he compliments Louis as the *pacific*, a topic of praise very common among the flatterers of that wholesale butcher; and after invoking the wrath of the Almighty upon heathen and heretics, he exclaims:

"But, on the contrary, pour out thy mercy upon this Christian kingdom, where thou art invoked, served, adored in spirit and in truth; pour it out upon the monarch who hears me, and who, more zealous for thy glory than his own, places this day at thy feet, not only his scepter and his crown, but all the glory of his conquests, to offer his homage to thee as the God of peace. . . . With such holy dispositions, what may he not expect from thee; and what effects, or rather what miracles of protection have we not a right to promise ourselves for him. He is the man of thy right hand," &c. I., 66. Compare ii., 491.

Such sentiments as the above, shocking as they must appear to every one who reflects upon the immeasurable disparity between God and man, even the greatest of men, occur frequently in Bourdaloue's compliments to the king. Is it surprising that the heart of Louis was hardened, and his pride inflamed. Deluded by such adulation from the pulpit, he actually believed that God was bound to treat him with special consideration. Hence his exclamation after the defeat of his forces at Ramillies, "God has then forgotten all that I have done for him."\*

A sermon on the resurrection of Christ presents another specimen of his apostrophes:

"When thou didst send thy prophets to preach in the courts of kings, it was thy will that they should appear as pillars of iron and walls of brass; that is to say, as disinterested, generous and intrepid ministers. But I venture to say, Lord, that I have not even had need of that intrepid character to announce thy gospel here; for I have had the advantage of announcing it to a most Christian king, a king who honors his religion, who honors it in his court, and makes an open profession of his honor for it; in a word, a king who loves the truth. Thou didst forbid Jeremiah to tremble in the presence of the kings of Judah: as for myself, I have rather to console myself that the presence of the greatest of kings, so far from inspiring fear, has increased my confidence; so far from enfeebling my ministry, has fortified and accredited it. For, the truth which I have preached, has always found in the heart of our monarch, an edifying submission and a powerful protection." I., 457.

A sermon on the purification of the Virgin—the date of which, Feb. 5, 1674, we are enabled to ascertain from a reference to the time of its delivery, in a letter of Madame de Sevigné—furnishes another instance of his courtly lenity to the paramour of Montespan. His subject is the law of God.

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\* Histoire de Paris, par J. A. Dulaure, vi., 391.



"It is of that law that your majesty makes it his glory to be the defender and the avenger. . . . Those holy ordinances against dueling, which your majesty has renewed . . . those declarations which emanate daily from your counsels, so advantageous to the church and so wisely adapted to restrain heresy within the limits which the edicts of your ancestors have prescribed; those tribunals erected for the extermination of libertinism and vice; these are so many proofs, authentic proofs, of the zeal which animates you. There exist in France concealed monsters, and you are the hero whom God has raised up to stifle and crush them. Sacrilege, impiety, homicide, the sad but inevitable consequences of debauchery and license of manners, have spread over the world. It is to you that the world must be beholden for its purification. There is need of a monarch as powerful, as enlightened, as religious as you, to take the cause of God in hand, to make the law of God your own law, and to be the restorer of good order and public security. You will carry on, sire, your own work," &c. II., 408.

Again, in another sermon on the same subject:

"It is, if I may venture thus to speak, for the interest and the honor of God to maintain your majesty in the splendor which attracts to you the regards of the whole world; since the greater you become, the greater will be the glory which redounds to God from the homage which you offer to him." II., 432.

It seems to us that this is carrying flattery to its Ultima Thule. As if it were not enough to place the Almighty under obligation to the French king, for the signal services which he had rendered his cause on earth, the preacher absolutely makes it his interest to protect and aid and glorify a feeble mortal, and that, too, such a one as Louis XIV.

The extracts which we have given, may be regarded as fair indications of his general tone: among all his compliments to the king, there is not one in which he rises above the level of the courtier to assume the port of the messenger of the Most High. On the most important of all points, the personal delinquencies and scandalous example of Louis, he is silent. His assumption of courage is mere gasconade. He flourishes his weapon at a distance from the foe, sheathes it, and retires without striking a blow. With such provocatives to his zeal, it is surprising that he could remain silent. With the royal voluptuary in his very presence, his mistresses decorated with titles and honors, and glittering in jewels, purchased by sinful compliances; the tearful eyes of the poor, neglected queen, directed imploringly to him as her last hope, and the vows of God pressing upon his conscience, it is amazing that he could hold his peace. And what makes his conduct the more tantalizing is, that he seems, at times, to be nearing the noble sinner, and preparing to grapple with him. We watch his maneuvers with intense interest; we gaze with admiration upon the intrepid soldier of the cross, his

strokes falling fast and thick upon his terror-stricken auditory; and at the very crisis of our hopes, when we are expecting that, at its very next descent, his ponderous battle-ax will rattle upon the proud crest of the monarch himself, he gives up the fight and retires. He seems awed by the dignity of his victim; and, like the executioner of Marius, he dares not deal the fatal blow. Yet of Bourdaloue it has been said by Moreri: "No consideration was ever sufficient to change his frankness and sincerity. He sustained uniformly the freedom of his ministry, and never abased its dignity." Bungener observes, with greater justice, "He contributed more than any other to corrupt the heart of Louis XIV." P. 146.

Bourdaloue must have been, at times, painfully conscious of his vacillation and timidity, and of its pernicious influence upon his hearers. In some of his discourses, he anticipates the objection that might be derived from this source, and endeavors to neutralize its power. Thus, in one *sur le scandale*, he admonishes his auditors that they must consider, in the ministers of the word, "the purity of their doctrine, not the corruption of their manners; must hear, and not imitate them; obey their commands, and not do according to their works." The ministers of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding the irregularities of their lives, are not to be despised; for he who despises them, despises Him who sent them.\* An apology such as this savors of the arrogance of Rome, without her plausibility. To suppose that the respect of mankind would ever be accorded to a religious system, which is unproductive of holiness in its official representatives and defenders, argues gross ignorance of human nature. The most of observers will judge the tree by its fruits; and the purest system of religion will be condemned, if the character of its ministers is contemptible. "The gospel of the greater portion of mankind," as Massillon has remarked, "is the lives of the preachers whom they know;" or, as it has been expressed in the homely phrase of a humbler philosopher, *Bien predica quien bien vive, y yo no sé otras tologias*, "A good liver is the best preacher, and that is all the theology that I know."† The logic of Sancho is that of the mass of the race.

Our readers are now, we trust, prepared to proceed with us to a review of those incidents in the life of Bourdaloue,

\* Vol. i., 31. See also, his sermon sur la vrai et la fausse piété, and sur l'hypocrisie.

† Don Quixote, part ii., chap. xx.

which Bungener has grouped together with consummate skill, and shaped into the form of the drama. The facts—for we must exclude fiction from our narrative—are these. On Maundy-Thursday of the season of Lent, in 1675, Madame de Montespan applied for absolution to M. Lecuyer, a priest of the parish of Versailles, and was refused the consolation. What were the motives which actuated this ecclesiastical functionary, we are unable to say. We desiderate a further acquaintance with Monsieur Lecuyer. Was he really a righteous man, another Lot, whose soul was vexed with the filthy conversation of that modern Sodom, the capital of France; or a surly Cerberus, waiting for his sop at the door of the confessional; or a fussy, pragmatical fellow, inflated, as is commonly the case with parish priests, with the insolence of office, who caught at the opportunity of flourishing the keys of the kingdom of heaven in the face of the haughty favorite, and bidding her defiance? We will give him all the benefit of the most charitable construction of his motives; and in the dearth of the ten righteous men, felicitate ourselves that we have found one. The insulted marchioness, bursting with indignation, hastened to her lover, and complained bitterly of the outrage. Roused to indignation himself, he brought the matter before the *curé* of the parish, M. Thibaut, who, of course, could do no less than sustain his subordinate. The Duke de Montausier, and Bossuet, then Bishop of Condom, were consulted. The former, whose character is happily sketched in the work before us, took the initiative. Incapable of flattery and superior to fear, he applauded the firmness of Lecuyer, and sternly reprimanded the king for the scandal of his immoralities. He was seconded by the eloquent bishop. Louis was affected, subdued. He said, “I will see her no more.”\*

A great victory had been won. For this the whole Gallican church had long toiled, Jesuits intrigued, pilgrimages had been made, and sacrifices vowed. “The devotees,” says Bruyere, “knew no crime but incontinence.”† The gallantries of the king were a grief and a burden to his spiritual guides, engrossing all their care, and leaving no scope for solicitude concerning his other offenses. The souls of the

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\* It is doubtless with reference to the part played by Bossuet on this occasion, that La Rue said of him, in his funeral oration, “How many sinners has he addressed with the zeal of John the Baptist. It is not lawful for thee to have her.” But the courage of Bossuet is very equivocal. He seems to have considered “discretion the better part of valor.”

† De la Mode, Les Characters, chap. xiii., an admirable picture of the hypocrisy of the times.



faithful all over the kingdom were troubled. They besought the succor of its patron saint, the queen of heaven, and implored aid from beyond seas. Canada sent up its cry to Rome's rabble of saints. Virgins consecrated to God, conversed about the amours of the king, fasted, prayed, and held long vigils over the peccadilloes of the frail descendant of St. Louis; sturdy monks flagellated themselves, to subdue the rebellious flesh of their sovereign; and frantic priests started up in their dreams to cry out, "It is not lawful for thee to have her." The phantom of Madam de Montespan, like the ghost of Banquo, glided into the refectories of jovial celibates, "displaced the mirth, broke the good meeting with most admired disorder." The preachers of the court were no less zealous in their efforts to detach the king from his mistress, although, as we have seen in the case of Bourdaloue, they tempered their zeal with discretion. "But," says Sismondi, "in regard to the daily violation of justice, by the usurpation of the territories of his neighbors; of humanity, by the atrocious system of warfare which he introduced; of mercy, by the intolerable weight of taxes which he was continually increasing; of domestic economy and probity, by the ruinous games which he encouraged at his court, no counsel, no religious exhortation was ever addressed to him."\* This is severe, and perhaps a little exaggerated; but no one who has studied the history of the times, will deny its substantial truth.

Bossuet took the king under his especial tutorage, and addressed to him magnificent letters, in the style of his Universal History, which proved nothing but his incompetency for the task he had undertaken; and, aided by Maintenon, he ventured to approach the marchioness. Louis and his fair accomplice were deemed to be in a hopeful condition. "The king," says Madam de Caylus, "had a depth of religion, which appeared even amid his greatest irregularities with women;" and Cardinal de Bausset assures us he was "profoundly religious."† The religion of Madame de Montespan was not less profound. She was careful, in Lent, to have her bread weighed;‡ and not unfrequently, she withdrew from the cabinet of her lover, for the purpose of performing her devotions. The eloquence of Bossuet moved that proud beauty to tears; but they were the tears of passion rather than of penitence. She could not resign, without a struggle,

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\* Hist. des Franc., xxv, 483.

† Souvenirs de M. de Caylus, p. 387.

‡ Souvenirs de Caylus, p. 389.

the elevation which she had so long enjoyed—the privilege to sit “adored as queen on beauty’s throne.” Her piety, however, at length triumphed, and she sat at the feet of Bossuet and Madame de Maintenon, with the contrition of Magdalene. The king was permitted to take the sacrament at Easter; and Montespan retired to Clagny. It was at this time that Louis said to Bourdaloue, “Father, you ought to be satisfied with me. Madame de Montespan is at Clagny.” To which he replied, “Yes, sire, but God would be better satisfied if Clagny were seventy leagues from Versailles.”\*

Louis went to the army without seeing Montespan. It does not come within our province, nor would it be likely to prove either interesting or instructive to our readers, to detail the cabals of the court during his absence, the struggle between the devotees and the debauchees, both parties contending, though with opposite views, for the soul of the baited monarch. We hasten to the denouement. The king returns from the army. Lent is forgotten. Montespan emerges from her profound religion as gay and fascinating as ever; and Louis, escaped from the same depths, hastens to her side. He sends a message to her to meet him as soon as he arrives. Intelligence of the fact is conveyed to Bossuet. Chagrined and distressed, he advances nine leagues from Versailles, to intercept his refractory pupil. He is anticipated. “Not a word,” says the king; “I have given my orders for the preparation of apartments for Madame de Montespan at the chateau.” Bossuet could only continue silent and weep.†

The lovers met at the chateau. “Thou wert beautiful as an angel,” as the young Duke de Maine said of his mother. A brief interview in the recess of a window, a few glances from those bright eyes, tears trembling on their long dark lashes, and all was over. Bossuet was *hors de combat*; and the triumphant sultana regained her ascendancy, which she held until supplanted by that old sorceress, la vieille sorcière, as she is styled by the princess palatine, Madame de Maintenon.

It is at this crisis in the religious history of Louis XIV., that Bungener introduces his favorite preacher to our notice. The Bishop of Condom appeals to him for aid. He is about to preach before the king, and he is urged by Bossuet to select some topic which may confirm his resolution to amend. But the preacher has prepared his discourse, and has it by

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\* Beaumelle, ii., 127.

† Bausset, ii., 53–71. Beaumelle, ii., 39.

heart. He is to preach on the Passion, and to repeat a peroration which he had addressed to the king, two years before—a peroration remarkable for nothing but its mendacious adulation. At its first delivery, it had drawn from an unknown hand, a letter of stern rebuke. That letter was written by a Protestant minister, Claude of Charenton, who now appears in the drama as the auxiliary of Bossuet. He persuades Bourdaloue to omit the offensive passage, and to substitute a peroration prepared by himself; and the Jesuit, thus equipped from the armory of Protestantism, awaits, with trembling solicitude, his struggle with the king on the following day. Good Friday arrives. Bourdaloue is not to ascend the pulpit until vespers, that is to say, about four o'clock in the afternoon. He has spent a sleepless night, and the hours of the day drag heavily. He is restive and feverish; his brain burns. He takes a turn in the park, to catch the fresh air, where he encounters Bossuet, who raises his fainting courage, and he repairs to the place of preaching. The royal chapel of Versailles, thronged with the nobility of the kingdom, presented a brilliant spectacle. Its magnificent decorations were eclipsed by “the crowd assembled within its walls, by the almost fabulous assemblage of all the great names, all the great fortunes, and all that was most illustrious in France.” Many had come and gone without effecting an entrance. The women occupied every seat, and the men were crowded into the doorways, the gratings, and the outside galleries. The whole scene presented a dazzling confusion of splendid costumes, feathers, embroideries, swords and badges of office. Bourdaloue is to preach; and recent events have furnished materials for his discourse. The king is tardy in his coming. The priests are at the altar; the queen is in her gallery; Bossuet, in that of his pupil, the dauphin. The hour has struck; and his guards have not yet arrived. The assembly betrays “all the signs of the most intense expectation.”

In this interval, Bourdaloue paces the floor of the sacristy, silent and thoughtful, stops occasionally at the door to listen, and resumes his walk. His air is that of a man deeply agitated. His breathing is rapid and violent; his white surplice throbs above his heart. But he hears a dull murmur in the chapel which tells him that the king is not yet there, and he begins to think, perhaps hope, that he will not come. The king is, at the same time, walking in his cabinet. He dreads the encounter with the preacher, and has almost resolved to stay away. The Duke de Montausier enters his cabinet, shames him out of his timidity, and he passes to the chapel.



At his appearance the crowd is suddenly hushed; and amid profound silence, the monarch, pale and agitated, without casting his accustomed glance around the assembly, hastens to bury himself in his arm-chair. The service begins, and ere long Bourdaloue ascends the pulpit, as pale and agitated as the king. There they are, face to face, the king "within his sword's length set," and the preacher girded for the attack. The opening service over, Bourdaloue announces his text, and commences his discourse: "If the preacher could ever with apparent reason, blush for his ministry, would it not be on this day, when he beholds himself obliged to publish the astounding humiliations of the God whom he proclaims," &c.\* Bourdaloue sustains himself nobly. He delivered one of those masterly discourses to which Madame de Sevigné has referred—one of which held his audience in breathless attention; another charmed and transported them; another caused Marshal Gramont to exclaim aloud, "By God! he is right:" all of them won the applause of his hearers.† The dreaded moment at length arrives when the preacher is to grapple with the king. But here we must give the tables to Bungenier:

"He draws near the close,—and he does not yet know what he shall do. Another page, and hesitation will no longer be possible. Another phrase only,—two more words. His head grows dizzy, his knees totter beneath him. He dashes on blindly; with a concentrated violence he lets go the first words which come into his mouth, All is lost! It is not the peroration of Claude; it is his own; the one over which he has groaned; the one which he wished to efface with his tears and his blood. It is as if the devil had whispered it in his ear.

"But suddenly he stops and grows pale. As he turned his head, in order at least to spare himself the shame of pronouncing before the king's very face, these praises which seem like burning coals upon his lips,—what does he see there, in that corner? A grave, motionless, majestic countenance, which is distinctly defined against the long folds of a black mantle.

"It is he,—the Protestant! It is Claude!

"Bourdaloue is annihilated. He slowly bows his head; he clasps his hands.

"But oh wonder! he rises again. The fire of his eyes breaks forth again; his head is upright and steady; his voice vibrates. It is your turn, Louis le Grand!

"No one save Claude, had perceived the motive of the interruption, no one imagined it to be anything else but an oratorical ruse; but the movement had been too natural, too true, too terrible, not to have a prodigious effect. The orator had perceived, as by the ray of a flash of lightning, all the advantage he was going to derive from it.

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\* *Oeuvres*, i., 437.

† *Le pere Bourdaloue préche! bon Dieu! tout est an-dessous des louanges qu'il mérite.* Lett! de Sevigné, April 13, 1672, and April 3, 1686.

"*I have, nevertheless, reason to console myself—*" It was at these words that Bourdaloue had perceived Claude, and that he had risen to fall no more.

"*To console myself,*" he repeated, slowly. "Ah my brethren, what was I about to say! Is it at this hour, when the cross is being erected, that I can have the courage to praise? Does not this blood, which is about to flow for all men, cry out to me that all are sinners? And shall I dare, I, to make one exception? No, sire, no! I will not set you apart; I would not wish that your diadem should prevent your receiving to-day upon your brow, like the humblest of your subjects, some drops of the blood which purifies and saves!"

"The way was open; he had now but to go on. And not only had the orator decided to omit nothing, but further,—sure henceforth of himself and his courage, he was in no haste to reach the pages of Claude. It was with a kind of pride and pleasure, that he dwelt upon the idea by which he had begun to approach them.

"*Woe!*" he continued, "woe to him who should keep out of this multitude for which Jesus died! Woe to the king who should imagine that there are two roads to heaven, one for himself, and one for his people. Or rather yes, yes, there are two. But the narrowest, the most rugged, the one in which aid and pity are the most needed, is that in which walk those men who are surrounded with so many dangers, so many temptations. It is yours, oh kings, oh ye gods of the earth!"

"And Bourdaloue then went on to the illusions under which a king labors, as to the nature and extent of his vices. He wheeled around his prey; the circle grew smaller and smaller; it was solemn,—terrible. There was many an old soldier present, whose heart had never before throbbed so quickly.

"At last Bourdaloue gave place to Claude. The lion ceased to turn, and walked straight up to the enemy. At the first words of this fresh passage, which, although admirably brought in, yet contrasted somewhat with the preceding phrases,—an imperceptible shudder ran through the assembly. Happily, the king cast down his eyes, which somewhat relieved the agonies of those present. If he had but frowned, they would have wished the earth to swallow them, and we will not answer for what the orator himself would have said or done. But the king did not move. After having cast down his eyes, he also bent down his head.

"It was because once caught in the double net of religion and eloquence, he felt that debate was not longer possible. People of his temper do nothing by halves. That subjugation which had so long taken place to the impure despotism of a mistress, was at this moment transferred to the sacred despotism of faith, morals, and genius. Besides, in lending his weapons to Bourdaloue, Claude had been careful not to mingle with them any of those irritating darts which annoy rather than kill, and which by exasperating the enemy, only restore him all his power. He knew that a word, a single word, is enough to destroy the effect of twenty reasons. A combat of pin-pricks would have appeared to him unworthy of the pulpit, and imprudent, above all, with a man like the king. Blows from a heavy club alone would answer.

"If the chapel had been peopled with statues, the silence could not have been more profound, nor the immovability more perfect. From time to time a sound was audible, like that of a stifled sob; it appeared to proceed from the seats of the queen. But who would have dared to raise his head, or turn it to see if it was her? It was the queen in fact. Her tearful eyes wandered from the king to Bourdaloue, from Bourdaloue to Bossuet. The latter might have seen her, but he did not; his eyes, his soul, were elsewhere.

He had scarcely seen her when he reëntered the chapel, and taken the place from which her supplicating look had driven him before. It was only at the close that their eyes met, and that he read in those of the queen, a gratitude, of which, in fact, he deserved the greater part.

"Bourdaloue saw nothing, heard nothing. His eager eyes never quitted the king;—he held him with his glance, as with his words and gestures. There was no longer the slightest trace of indecision, of terror. He dashed headlong into passages which he had most dreaded beforehand; he pronounced with a vigorous assurance, those words which he had trembled at in reading; and like a soldier intoxicated with noise and powder, he rejoiced in his triumph, and thirsted for warfare and victory. And now Louis, frown if thou wilt; raise thyself;—raise thine eyes. What is that to him? He knows, he feels that he has that which will make thee lower them again.

"But the more complete the victory appeared, the more toward the close, he felt another uneasiness increase. This discourse of which the triumph is no longer doubtful,—he is not really the author of it, since the principal passage in it is not his own; and commendations will be showered upon him. He can not accept them. Did his conscience permit him, Claude is there. Refuse them? But how? By naming the author? That would be almost a scandal. Without naming him? People would lose themselves in conjectures, and the sermon itself would be forgotten for the mystery connected with it.

"The end of the sermon came before he had decided."

When the services were over, the king retired to his sacristy, a saloon contiguous to the chapel, and summoned Bourdaloue into his presence. In passing thither, he met Claude, whom he took with him to the door, where he was soon joined by Bossuet and the Marquis de Fenelon. Louis praised the sermon, and requested a copy of the peroration. "It is not by me," was his reply. "'And by whom then?' Bourdaloue went quickly to the door: 'Come,' he said, 'Come.' 'How,' cried the king, on perceiving Bossuet; 'it was by Monsieur de Condom!' 'No, sire, by Monsieur Claude. And I have the honor to present him to you.'"

"Ten years afterward," adds our author, "Louis XIV. sent Claude a purse of an hundred louis, and one of his valets-de-chambre to serve him. It is true that it was the next day after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and that Claude was quitting France never to return."

Now, all this is very pretty, very dramatic, and very creditable to Bourdaloue, to say nothing of Bungener himself, the skillful artist; and we are loth to divest it of its *couleur de rose*. Unhappily, however, it lacks one thing, and that by no means the least important—truth. It does not possess even that *vraisemblance* which is essential to the illusion of the drama. Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Claude are all out of place. The whole scene is the creation of the author's imagination, and the only plausibility which attaches to it, is



derived from the few historical incidents, which although true of different individuals and under different circumstances, are here grouped together and applied to one, blended into a magnificent tableau, of which Bourdaloue is the conspicuous figure. But our readers have a right to demand our reasons for discrediting Bungener's account, and spoiling his admirable picture. We must try to meet the requisition.

If Claude were the only actor in the drama, we should experience no difficulty. We cheerfully concede all that is claimed for him: we believe him to have been fully capable of it, and of a great deal more. He had a soul not to be quelled by regal grandeur or absolute power, and had he been the occupant of the pulpit, the truthful record of the day would have far exceeded in interest and power, even the graphic fiction of Bungener. But of the manliness of the other personages of the drama, we stand in doubt. The "plain unvarnished tale" of history proves that they had none of it. They could "screw their courage up to the sticking place," in the presence of heresy and heretics; and Bourdaloue, especially, could from his secure position in the pulpits of Montpellier, encompassed by dragoons, vilify, in the presence of the new converts, the memory of their Protestant fathers; but that was a different affair. In the presence of the king, they were paralyzed. The truth is, that courage was by no means the crowning grace of the court preachers of Louis XIV. Although he made it his boast that while he imposed silence on his parliaments, he allowed his pulpit to speak out, they declined to avail themselves of the privilege. He might have challenged the whole posse of them, in the language with which Coriolanus defied the rabble of the seven-hilled city:

Come on, you cowards, you were got in fear,  
Though you were *born in Rome*.

In reference to the position which Bourdaloue is made to assume, it might be argued, that as a Jesuit, he was not bound to any such superfluous display of courage. The interests of his order were superior to the claims of truth; and any demonstration which would have endangered its supremacy, would have been palpably inconsistent with the line of policy ordinarily pursued by the disciples of Loyola. Besides, he would scarcely have ventured upon such an experiment, without consulting his superiors; and from the part which La Chaise is made to play in this drama, we can very

readily conjecture what would have been their advice. The subjection of a Jesuit to his superiors is absolute. He must answer their

“ Best pleasure ; be’t to fly,  
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride  
On the curled clouds.”

Moreover, there was no reason why a Jesuit should be particularly scandalized at the amatory propensities of the king. The folios of his renowned doctors would have shielded him from censure. “ The doctrine of the Jesuits,” according to a Roman Catholic writer, “ in reference to the sixth [the seventh in our enumeration] commandment, excludes everything like moral sobriety or Christian sentiment.”\* Indeed, so comprehensive is Rome’s charity toward her erring children, that Louis might have purchased an indulgence for his passions, and might have ascertained the price of spiritual wares of every description, by consulting the *Taxæ Sacræ Cancellariæ*, an edition of which was published for the use of the faithful, at Paris, in 1626.†

Bourdaloue, we repeat, could have satisfied a Jesuit’s conscience, without hazarding his standing with the king. He might have turned a blind eye to his peccadilloes, as did grave old La Chaise, of grave-yard celebrity. The ingenious speculations of a Tartuffe, would have served his purpose ; for the dialectics which Moliere puts into the mouth of that impostor, indicate precisely the *rôle* which is played by the society of Jesus :

La Ciel défend, de vrai, certains contentemens ;  
Mais on trouve avec lui des accommodemens,  
Selon divers besoins, il est une science  
D’étendre les liens de notre conscience,  
Et de rectifier le mal de l’action  
Avec la pureté de notre intention.

But we will not insist upon these considerations. We are willing to concede to Bourdaloue all that is implied in the remark of the author, that he was “ scarcely a Jesuit save in name and dress.” We admit his general rectitude. He was

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\* Die Moral und Politik der Jesuiten, von Jelendorf, Darmstadt, 1840, s. 96, where he cites the proof, which he blushes to put upon his pages. The author asserts that he has examined the citations of Pascal, and vouches for their correctness. Vorrede, vii.

† Marchand, Dictionnaire Historique, a La Haye, 1758. Bishop England endeavored in a controversy with the Rev. Dr. Fuller, to evade the proof of Rome’s iniquity in this matter, but without success.

not one whom the master spirits of the order would have selected to do their dirty work, to enact the infamous parts which, in subserviency to the comprehensive scheme of worldly aggrandizement, must fall to the lot of some of its members—the Damienses and the La Chaises, the assassins and corrupters of princes. We object to the representation of the author, because it lacks verisimilitude and is unsupported by historical proof. None of the contemporaries of Bourdaloue relate the incident: it is not accredited to him in any of our biographical dictionaries. Moreri, the *Dictionnaire Historique*, the *Biographie Universelle*, Rose's *Biographical Dictionary*, all, in fact, that we have consulted, are silent on the subject. The origin of the story, however, may be readily accounted for. After the decease of Bourdaloue, it was the custom of his admirers to ascribe to him every creditable incident connected with the French pulpit. He came in for all the stray waifs in the shape of unappropriated anecdotes, &c.; and was even made the proprietor of what belonged to others. Thus, it is related of Mascaron, that having preached at court with unusual boldness, the courtiers of the king complained of his severity, when Louis replied, "He has done his duty; let us do ours." This has been assigned to Bourdaloue. Beaumelle states that a Jesuit, in a sermon before the monarch, applied to him the apostrophe of Nathan to David, "Thou art the man;" but although he refers elsewhere, especially to Bourdaloue, he makes no mention of him here.\* Anquetil repeats the incident, and gives it to Bourdaloue, affirming that this circumstance occasioned the separation of the king from his mistress; and although he gives no authority for his statement, he has been followed by Butler and D'Israeli. D'Alembert, in a note to his *Eloge de Massillon*, discredits the story altogether.† We have no faith in it. If the part assigned to the chief actor is destitute of probability, what shall we say of the subordinates? That Bossuet and Bourdaloue would have admitted Claude into their counsels in respect to the reformation of the monarch; that the latter would have tolerated the interference ascribed to Claude, and especially, that he would have delivered a composition of the heretical pastor of Charenton, are facts so unlikely, that nothing short of explicit historical testimony can overcome their improbability. Bungener states, some-

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\* Vie de Maintenon, ii. 95.

† Anquetil, *Mem. Court of Louis XIV.*, i., 199. D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, i., 45. London, 1824. D'Alembert, *Eloges*, &c.



what naively, "We have not this passage. It was not found among Bourdaloue's papers, and the sermon has come down to posterity with the pages which the author tore out," p. 187. To this we have only to reply that, in the first place, the passage never existed; and, in the second place, the pages which he is said to have torn out to make room for it, belonged to a different sermon, a sermon on the Resurrection, ii., p. 325, in which they still appear.

But the king provided Claude with money and an escort. We can not answer for the money, but we vouch for the escort. But conceding both, we see in the attention bestowed upon the heretic, just such courtesy as a judge extends to a criminal, when he hands him over to a brace of burly constables to be conducted to prison, with a *douceur* in the shape of provision for the payment of his jail fees. Claude was, in the estimation of the feminine counselor of the king, "a seditious man." He was deemed a troublesome fellow, likely to make mischief wherever he went; and hence, the king anxious to get rid of him, sent him under an armed escort, beyond the frontiers of his kingdom. Had the minister of Charenton made the favorable impression which Bungener ascribes to him, its influence would have appeared in the milder treatment of his flock. Yet, in 1681, when the Papists had the insolence to complain of the psalms sung by the Protestants, who, to avoid the insult of their fellow-subjects, went to church in barges on the Seine, and sang the songs of Zion on their way, Louis interdicted the offensive psalmody, or, what was equivalent to it, ordered them to sing so low as not to be heard.\*

We may as well turn now, from fable to history. "The provisions of the edict of revocation were executed without delay; and, in the outset, the ministers of Charenton, were visited with special severity, being enjoined to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. To Claude, as to the one the most obnoxious among them, only half that period was afforded; and he was escorted to Brussels, in the immediate custody of a menial of the palace."†

"Claude received orders to quit Paris, within twenty-four hours; one of the king's valets was charged by special ordinance, to conduct him to the frontier."‡ We confess our im-

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\* Dulaure, vii., 210.

† Smedley, Hist. Reformed Religion in France, iii., chap. xxv., 235.

‡ Browning, Hist. Huguenots, chap. lxi., p. 250. He gives in the Appendix to the work, a copy of the order of the king, dated October, 21, 1685. The demolition of the temple at Charenton commenced on the day of the registra-

patience at any attempt to extenuate the guilt of the revocation. Alexander Mazas, a writer who, like Capefigue, has not advanced beyond the spirit of the Middle Ages, and is the apologist of bigots and tyrants, has essayed to prove that it was not an act of religious intolerance, but simply one of administrative policy, and has endeavored to conceal its pernicious consequences to France. This is absurd. We have express testimony to the contrary from contemporary writers, La Fare, Choisey, Villars, Caylus and others. A writer of a different stamp has treated the subject with commendable impartiality; and although an admirer of Louis XIV., he does not hesitate to condemn his intolerance.\* All impartial men must concur in the opinion expressed by Vericour, that the edict of revocation was "an outrageous iniquity and a gross imbecility."† It is because the representations of Bungener in reference to the treatment of Claude, tend to the diffusion of erroneous views on this subject, that we have devoted so much space to their refutation. Louis XIV. had no compassion in his soul for heretics, and to represent him otherwise is to exceed even the license of the drama.

We turn to the contemplation of Bourdaloue as a pulpit orator or preacher. It was his good fortune to live during that period in the literary history of France, which its scholars, with a venial national pride, have compared to the age of Pericles, Augustus, and the Medici. The bombastic Italian style of Guarani and Marini, which secured the applause of the court during the regency of Marie de Medici, and the jargon of Mademoiselle Scudery and the *precieuses* of the Hotel de Rambouillet, from which the Duchess of Montausier, the "incomparable Arthenice," swayed the scepter of literary fashion, had yielded to the classic tone introduced by Malherbe, and confirmed by Corneille, Moliere and Racine.‡ Richelieu and Mazarin had extended their patronage to men of letters; and, under their auspices, the genius of France developed its resources in those productions which are still regarded as

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tion of the edict, and in five days, that noble edifice, with which the genius of Desbrosses had adorned the place in 1623, was a mass of ruins. Dalaure, vii., 212.

\* Mazas, Cours d'Histoire de France, iii., 261. Paris, 1847. Ragon, Histoire Générale des Temps Modernes, ii., 261-576. Paris, 1845. The textbook of public instruction.

† Christian Civilization, p. 353. London, 1850.

‡ The literary history of the times is very well treated by Ragon, ii., 576-593. Rankin, History of France, b. iii., chap. iv. Schlosser, Hist. Eighteenth Century, i. Introduction, 19.

models of elegance, and the best embodiment of the national character. Bourdaloue seems to have partaken of the general culture of his age; its influence is particularly observable in his style. "He was the first," says Voltaire,\* "who displayed in the pulpit a uniform masculine eloquence." His writings, however, exhibit the consequences of that professional exclusiveness, that literary provincialism, which shapes the curriculum of study in the educational institutions of his order. Acute and versatile, he lacks breadth and comprehensiveness. His learning, purely professional, and even in that limited sphere, behind his age, is select rather than accurate or profound. Of the original language of the Old Testament, he had no knowledge; and his acquaintance with the Scriptures was derived entirely from the Vulgate and the commentaries of the Fathers. He quotes them but seldom, and even then, almost uniformly perverts their meaning. The contemporary of Spinoza and Locke, and the countryman of Descartes and Malebranche, he appears to have been unapprised of the nature and importance of their speculations. Guided by the policy which strains at a gnat and swallows a camel, he combated the views of Fenelon on the love of God; reprehended the levity of Moliere, whose unmasking of the *imposteur*, even Bourdaloue could not forgive; and took the field against an unknown assailant, to defend the worship of "the Mother of God;" while he consigned the faith to an unassisted struggle with those great metaphysicians, who had risen up in rebellion against the philosophy of the Middle Ages, and proclaimed independence of thought. Bourdaloue is innocent of all contamination with modern speculation. He dwelt with the Fathers; he bestowed no thought on the degenerate sons. Here we may as well take occasion to remark that we deem his familiarity with the Fathers, the source of his most prominent defects. They oppress and burden his mind. His sermons abound with quotations, many of them being mere centos of passages from his favorite authors, paraphrased, amplified and illustrated. A pretty conceit of Augustine recalls to his memory a similar one in Chrysostom, which suggests something like it in Bernard, which is itself confirmed by a passage in Jerome, and fortified by another in Origen or Tertullian. Thus, these venerable doctors, as the rustic said of the genealogy in Luke's gospel, "go on begetting one another to the end of the chapter."

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\* *Siecle de Louis XIV.*, chap. xxix.



We have already given some hints as to the moral condition of Paris as the time of Louis XIV. We must recur to the subject; for it is natural to inquire whether that zeal which was so prodigally expended in the conversion of heretics, might not have found ample scope for exercise at home, and among the orthodox children of the church. We have repeated M. de Maintenon's description of the ladies of the court, to which we may add the eccentricities displayed by Queen Christina of Sweden, during a visit to the royal family. She was the queen of "bloomers" in those days. She usurped the costume of the lords of creation, and on one occasion, at the theater, protruded her feet, cased in boots, over the tops of the boxes, to the undissembled horror of the queen mother; and, to give the finish to her graceful accomplishments, she swore like "our army in Flanders." The morals of the lower orders were depraved to the last degree. Multitudes of the profligate and abandoned crowded the haunts of crime, known as the *cours de miracles*—a designation applied to them in consequence of the wonderful transformations which their inmates were capable of undergoing. From these dens, the blind, the lame, the widow and the orphan, went forth in the morning, on their errand of beggary; and on their return at night, the blind recovered his sight, the cripple threw away his crutch and leaped for joy, the maimed released his concealed limbs from custody, the widow returned her orphan to the hag from whom she had borrowed it, the crooked became straight, and the aged, divested of superfluous hair and paint, renewed their youth, all to spend the gleanings of the day in foul nocturnal orgies. Yet, into these squalid receptacles of filth and sin, no Christian minister is known to have penetrated. The Five Points of the metropolis offered no stimulant to Catholic zeal. There was no heresy there: the miracle-workers were orthodox Christians. The ministers of religion left the ninety and nine sheep of the fold, and went after the one that had strayed into the wilderness of Protestantism.\*

It is worthy of mention here, as a fact of some significance, that women appeared on the stage, for the first time, in 1687, an abominable custom which had been tolerated in England, under Charles II. The comedies of Moliere were suppressed, in deference to the devotees; but the licentious Italian opera retained its place. Louis once inquired of Condé the Great,

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\* On the moral condition of Paris, Delaure gives copious details. *Hist. de Paris*, vii., 235-371. *Cours de Miracles*, do., 171-183.

why Tartuffe was prohibited, whilst Scaramouche Hermite, a scandalous Italian farce, was acted at court. He replied, "The Italian comedians have only offended God; the French comedians have offended the devotees." Among these devotees was Harlay, the Archbishop of Paris.\*

The morals of the nobility, if we may judge from the censures of Bourdaloue, were such as to shame any people professing Christianity. The women of the court, even the devotees, shocked his sense of propriety by their "criminal and indecent nudities," and their profane levities in the house of God. He even charges them with converting it into a house of assignation. His sermon on impurity, discloses a depth of social depravity, a general moral taint, which proves that the higher orders differed from the *roués* of the miracle chambers, only in the refinement and elegance with which they dignified the indulgence of the passions. Lying, he complains in a remarkable passage which is too long for quotation, is the vice of all classes, from the courtier to the beggar. Even the clergy are liars, like the rest of them.† And the testimony of his contemporaries shows that his representations were neither false nor too highly colored.

Such was the religious condition of the metropolis of France. To meet its exigencies, the king provided its pulpits with men of the highest order of talent. We have no disposition to question either their ability or their general integrity. We willingly repeat now, what we said ten years since, in an article on Massillon—somewhat more laudatory, we acknowledge, than we should be inclined to pen now—that they compare favorably with the dignitaries of any other established church.‡ They were unquestionably men of extraordinary powers, devoted to the interests of the Roman Catholic church, and selected by the monarch with a single eye to its dignity and advancement. Yet the ministry was a failure. Popery, in the hands of such men, and with all the influence and patronage of Louis XIV., evinced only its inherent moral impotence. It was mighty to destroy, powerless to make alive. The cathedral was but the theater

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\* We have noticed his denial of Christian burial to Moliere. He rewarded Colletet with a silver bust of Apollo, for a hymn in honor of the immaculate conception of the mother of Jesus: in his private devotions, he preferred the mother of Cupid. Gaillard undertook his funeral oration, in which, says Seigné, he experienced two difficulties, his hero's life and his death. Mascaron declined it on the score of indisposition, which provoked from Clermont-Tonnerre, the remark, "You have not told us all. It is not you who are indisposed, but your subject."

† Tome ii., 106, 129, 192, 193.

‡ Southern Quarterly Review, January, 1843.

under a different name; and the worship of the Almighty a farce, of which his professed ministers were the actors. "The sermon," said Bruyere, "has become a spectacle." Even the "solid and admirable discourses of Bourdaloue, presenting the most essential points of religion and the most pressing motives to conversion, excite in his hearers no other confession than, "That is more beautiful than the last which he preached."\* The conversion of Louis did nothing for the reformation of morals. A sly hypocrisy, or a gloomy fanaticism took the place of open, undisguised profligacy. Madame de Maintenon, as Lacretelle has remarked, "without being a hypocrite herself, was the cause of hypocrisy all around her. She boasted that devotion had become the fashion."† Religion was merely an affair of state, the expression of the monarch's will. "Louis," says Sismondi, "had no real devotion. His opposition to the Protestants, to Jansenists, and to Quietists, sprang from his absolutism. Submissive to the church himself, he was indignant that others should claim the liberty of thought, and he repressed all independent speculation."‡ Hence, his persecuting spirit—a spirit which always finds its abettors in the fanatic and the hypocrite—

"That part most revered Dagon and his priests."

The main causes, then, of the failure of the king's preachers—and the subsequent history of France proves that it was an egregious failure—are to be found in the religion which they professed. Rome may preach virtue, but she patronizes vice. Her confessional is the antagonist of her pulpit, even in its best estate. Yet, Bourdaloue preached, venerated, extolled the confessional; and his church will never abandon it; at least, while there are Delilahs to reveal the secrets committed to them in the hours of unguarded love, or men to consent to the outrage. Protestant writers have repeated the unmeasured abuse heaped by papal priests upon Voltaire and his associates; but they appear to have forgotten, that Rome herself is the grand provocative to infidelity, and that there is little to choose between the doctrines of Trent and the deism of Voltaire. She submits to mankind a dread alternative—a religion such as hers, or no religion at all. Many of the best men in papal countries,

\* De la Chaise.

† Hist. de France, &c., i., 240. Paris, 1844.

‡ Hist. des Français, xxvi., 383.



identify the claims of Jesus of Nazareth with the pretensions of the Man of Sin, and repudiate both together. Some indulgence is due to their errors.

The fame of Bourdaloue as a preacher, has not been exempt from those fluctuations of opinion, by which the reputation of all distinguished individuals is more or less affected. Various and discrepant judgments have been pronounced upon his merits. Bungener has given his in the twenty-first chapter of the work before us; and while we do not concur with him in his high estimate of Bourdaloue, nor in his disparagement of Massillon, we must confess that he is sustained by some of the best critical authorities. Bouterwek pronounces him "beyond question, the greatest of the French preachers."\* Hallam, quotes, in a note, and apparently gives his concurrence to the commendation of Goguet, who denominates him "the prince of preachers," and expresses his own judgment as follows: "Bourdaloue, a Jesuit, but as little of a Jesuit, in the worst application of the word, as the order has produced, is remarkably simple, earnest and practical: he convinces rather than commands, and by convincing he persuades; for his discourses tend always to some duty, to something that is to be done or avoided. His sentences are short, interrogative, full of plain, solid reasoning, unambitious in expression, and wholly without that care in the choice of words and cadences which we detect in Bossuet and Flechier. No one would call Bourdaloue a rhetorician; and though he continually introduces the fathers, he has not caught their vices of language."† The opinion of Sir James Stephen may be inferred from his remark that "Bourdaloue to this moment gives the law to all the pulpits of France."‡

There are other critics, who either award the superiority to Massillon or divide their homage between him and his illustrious rival. "Bourdaloue is indeed a great reasoner, and inculcates his doctrines with much zeal, piety and earnestness; but his style is verbose, he is disagreeably full of quotations from the fathers, and he wants imagination. Massillon has more grace, more sentiment, and in my opinion, every way more genius. He discovers much knowledge both of the world and of the human heart; he is pathetic and persuasive, and upon the whole, is perhaps the most eloquent

\* Geschichte der Künste und Wissenschaften, vi., s. 303.

† Hist. Literature, ii., 294.

‡ Lectures on Hist. of France, ii., 216. London, 1852.

writer of sermons which modern times has produced.”\* A German critic thus contrasts their peculiarities: “Bourdaloue operates more upon the reason; Massillon, on the heart. The former has been termed the Demosthenes, the Corneille of the pulpit; the latter, its Cicero or Racine.”† De Chenier refers with approbation to the opinion of Lacretelle, that the merits of Bourdaloue, have been overrated, and expresses his preference for Massillon.‡ According to La Harpe, Bourdaloue is “an excellent theologian, a learned catechist, rather than a powerful preacher.”§

After placing before our readers the opinions of so many critics, it may seem useless, perhaps presumptuous, to pronounce a confident opinion of our own. There is one point, however, upon which we may venture a remark. The characteristic excellence claimed for the Jesuit, and that upon which Bungener insists, is his power of argumentation. It is true that he reasons, he abounds in reasoning; but in our humble judgment, he often gets a conclusion without premises, and has rather the show of dialectics than its reality. He never grapples with the difficulties of his subject, but invariably, when hard pressed, retreats under the authority of the church—*j'en reviens à la foi*. We believe that we shall be sustained in this assertion by every one who will study his works. Let our readers compare his most elaborately argumentative sermons with those of Sherlock, South, or Jonathan Edwards, and they will, we are confident, agree with us that the difference between them is very great: it is the difference between the shadow and the substance of logic. We have restricted our reference to his discourses, because we deem the reasoning of his panegyrics utterly puerile. A man who can gravely assert that Xavier appeared in different and distant places, at the same time, and can detect in that circumstance a proof of his divine mission, must have learned his logic in some other than the school of Aristotle.||

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\* Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric, xxix.

† Handbuch der Französischen Sprache und Litteratur, von Ideler und Nolte, s. 200. Berlin, 1838.

‡ Tableau Hist. de la Lit. Franc, p. 75. Paris, 1825.

§ Cours de Literature, viii., 125. Paris, 1835.

|| His rhapsodies on Loyola and Xavier are rich. He evidently believes all the fables that Père Bouhours copied from lying legends, when he compiled the lives of those saints for the entertainment of the ladies of the court, after novels had gone out of fashion. These veracious lives, by the way, have been republished in this country, with the imprimatur of the Rt. Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of Philadelphia. If any one is tempted to credit the stories of their missionary exploits—and some Protestant periodical writers have done so—we advise him to consult Steinmetz's exposure of them, in his History of the Jes-

Bungener observes that he was a "long time unable to account for his favorite's popularity, and that he finally discovered the secret in "the very excess of that which is generally most destructive to a preacher's popularity. The greater part of those who fail, fail only because they reason too much; but the more he reasoned the more he was admired." It would seem, according to this view of the matter, that the fountain of logic was very much like the Pierian spring, and guarded by the same restrictions, "Drink deep or taste not." We confess ourselves incompetent to appreciate the reason of the reason assigned by the author, and are tempted to exclaim in the words of that famous passage which turned the head of the knight of La Mancha, "The reason of the unreasonable treatment of my reason enfeebls my reason in such wise, that with reason I complain," &c.

Of the popularity of Bourdaloue, we have abundant evidence. To Madame de Sevigné, he was the *beau idéal* of pulpit eloquence—*le Grand Pan*, as she styled him. Her opinion, however, commands little respect with us; for she lauds, extravagantly, his funeral orations, whilst all judicious critics concur with Thomas, in holding that in that department, he failed totally.\* But we have higher authority. Bossuet said of him in a letter to Madame d'Albert de Luynes, August 4, 1694, "He preached a sermon which transported all our people and the whole diocese."† He is also recorded to have said, "This man will always be our superior in all things." The few allusions to him which occur in the Diary of Dangeau, are to the same point.‡

But, perhaps, we can account for the popularity of the Jesuit, without having recourse to the author's singular rule of contraries. He was the favorite preacher of Louis XIV., and as Sevigné informs us, it was the fashion to crowd to hear him. The gay nobles whose carriages blocked up the streets to St. Jacques-de-la-Boucherie when he was to preach there, and sent the day before to have places reserved for them, as well as the devotees who remained in the church all night, cared about as much for the preacher as they did for the Almighty. They were paying court to the king. The thirst for novelty also, the desire to hear some new thing, which

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uits. While on Bouhours, we may as well state, although it does not concern our subject, that he displayed as a grammarian, for such he was by profession, the ruling passion strong in death. His last words were, *Je vas ou je vais mourir*, l'un et l'autre se dit. *I die or I am dying*, either expression is correct.

\* Essai sur les Eloges. Œuvres, ii., 187. Paris, 1825.

† Bausset, iii., 376.

‡ See Diary, Dec. 25, 1684; Dec. 25, 1686; Dec. 16, 1691.



was as rampant among the Parisians as it had been of old among the Athenians, had its share in swelling the number of the Jesuit's auditors. "Who is that Le Tourneaux," said Louis, one day to Boileau, whom every body is going to hear preach?" "Your majesty is aware," was his reply, "that people are fond of hearing something new. He is a preacher who preaches the gospel." The gospel would, indeed, have been a novelty at the court of Louis XIV., especially from the lips of a Roman Catholic priest. Bourdaloue was, as is evinced by his letter to the general of the order, ignorant of the gospel. The perfect satisfaction made to the law and the justice of God by the atonement of Christ, and the justification of the believer by the imputation of his righteousness, were unknown in his theology, or known only as heretical vagaries. But there was something new in his style of preaching; and this, in connection with his unquestionable ability, is sufficient to account for his popularity, without resolving it into an excess of reasoning, or claiming for him a superiority to Massillon. It is worthy of consideration also, as Jules Janin has suggested, in his *Essai sur Massillon*, prefixed to Gavard's edition of the *Petit Carême*, that the Jesuit enjoyed the benefit of the prestige attached to his order, while Massillon, a poor priest of the oratory, made his appearance without éclat, and had to achieve a reputation by the force of his own genius.

We are inclined, however, to think, with Bungener, that the fame of Bourdaloue has advanced since his decease. His sermons could have derived no advantage from his delivery. He did not, indeed, adopt the English custom of reading—a custom which has proved the torpedo of the pulpit, wherever adopted—but he repeated his discourses from memory. He spoke with closed eyes, using little or no action, and that neither graceful nor appropriate, and the strain upon his memory gave him a distracted air, while he hurried through his sermon with great rapidity. A preacher who can attract the breathless attention of his hearers, and even charm and transport them, without looking them in the face, may look posterity in the face without fear. He is sure to augment, as a writer, the reputation which he acquired as a speaker. We think, however, that in comparison with the Bishop of Clermont, his own prophecy was correct: "He must increase, but I must decrease."

There is one item in the praises which Bungener bestows upon Bourdaloue, which we should not have expected from a Frenchman of the nineteenth century and a Protestant. "With the exception of those passages which relate to the

king—passages, besides, which never form an integral part of the sermon, and seem only to be added in compliance with custom—we must confess that no preacher has ever better seized the principle of Christian equality, or better clothed himself with it, or better remained in his true place.” On the contrary, he censures the *Petit Carême* of Massillon, as containing “in germ, and more than in germ, all that is most declamatory in the writings of the age, on the subjects of liberty, morals, the rights of the people, the crimes of kings,” &c. We have no sympathy with the author’s sentiments. We honor Massillon the more, for his manly assertion of the rights of the people, and his bold denial of the divine right of kings to govern wrong. In this respect, his position contrasts, most favorably, with that of the Jesuit. The latter told the king, to his face, “The great privilege of sovereignty is to be judged by none but God alone;” and the direct tendency of his compliments to him, was to confirm him in those arbitrary maxims, which, finally, proved so disastrous to the kingdom. The Bishop of Clermont, untainted by the extravagances of ultra democracy and red republicanism, directed his efforts to the support of a constitutional monarchy, and the rights of a free people. Fenelon incurred the hatred of Louis XIV., by the liberal principles of his *Telemaque*; Massillon spoke to ears that would not hear; but their motives were pure, and their principles worthy of the men who uttered them; and it is gross injustice to charge upon them the excesses which were the legitimate results of a reaction against the absolutism of Louis XIV. Had the remedies which they prescribed for the political distempers of the times, been adopted by those who might have employed them with safety, Robespierre and his charlatans would have been spared the use of their sanguinary specifics. The devil of tyranny might have been exorcised, without rending the body politic.\* What will be the ultimate results of these principles, and whether they will ever accomplish the political regeneration of France, are questions which we are incompetent to solve. Her career, hitherto, has baffled the wisdom and disappointed the hopes of the most sagacious statesmen. It would seem as if her people, for some dark and unexpiated crime, were fated, like Milton’s rebel angels, to suffer the

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\* The political views of Massillon are properly appreciated by that philosophical writer, De Tocqueville, *Hist. Philosophique du Regne de Louis XV.*, i., 64, Paris, 1847. The only blot on the moral character of Massillon, is his recommendation of the infamous Dubois for the archbishopric of Cambray. *Memoires Secrets du Cardinal Dubois. Notice sur le Cardinal*, p. 11. Paris, 1815.

penalty of a periodical transmutation into hissing serpents, biting and devouring one another. Her last avatar is not yet come.

We have left ourselves little space to discuss the views expressed by our author in reference to the composition and the delivery of sermons, and must content ourselves with commending his book to our readers, and particularly to our young ministers, as replete with valuable instruction. We thank the author and the translator for the entertainment which they have afforded us.\*

Upon a general survey of the times of the Preacher and the King, there is one consideration which presses with peculiar force upon our mind. The people of Great Britain, and we who share with them the inheritance bequeathed to us by our common ancestors—the inheritance of a pure faith and a free government—can never be sufficiently grateful to God, for so ordering the course of his providence as to sever the ties of relationship, which once connected the crowns of France and England, and thus leave the latter to pursue alone and unimpeded, its career of glory. Popery seems to have been permitted to work out its legitimate results in the one kingdom, and Protestantism to shed its blessings on the other, in order to exhibit to the world the difference between a Papal and a Protestant people. Louis XIV. and James II., impelled by Jesuitical counsel, conspired for the extirpation of Protestantism, and the establishment of despotism, in England. Had their enterprise proved successful, her glory would have departed, perhaps forever. Orgies like those of the Regency, and atrocities like those of the dragoonade, would have polluted her court, and decimated her people, and her manly and robust literature, replete with the healthful vigor which characterizes the English mind, would have been supplanted by the literature of a nation that, of all the nations of Europe, “has least catholicity of taste.”† When we reflect upon the calamities which were averted from the people of England by the political changes of 1688, we can sympathize in the enthusiasm with which they revert to their “glorious Revolution.” And it is because we trace in the

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\* We deem it an act of simple justice to the author of the best work, in English, on the French preacher, to recall the attention of our readers to the admirable volume entitled “The Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland, by Rev. Robert Turnbull. R. Carter & Brothers: New York, 1848.” The author has formed a more favorable estimate of Bourdaloue than is expressed in this article; and we may add that Le Clerc has done the same. *Bibliothèque Choisie*, xiv., p. 262–326.

† Shaw, *English Literature*, p. 182. Phila., 1852.



events of that memorable era, the influence of the principles of her great Protector, that we honor the memory of Cromwell. There is no portrait in her proud national gallery, that we contemplate with profounder reverence; and we rejoice to think that though dead, he yet speaks, and is the guardian of British freedom.

Among the popular traditions of Germany, those traditions in which the hopes and feelings of the nation have shaped themselves into actual beliefs, there is one which tells us that their great emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, who perished in the third crusade, is not dead, but still lives. Sitting in sublime slumber upon the Kyfhauser mountain, a marble table at his side, on which are placed the jewels of the empire, and his hand resting on his sword, he is prepared to descend to the aid of his country in the time of her dreaddest need. Such a tutelary spirit is Cromwell. Should the dangers which, at the present time, menace England's welfare, ever assume a portentous aspect, and the intrigues of Jesuitical priests concurring with the duplicity of false or apostate churchmen, bring on a crisis worthy of the interposition of her people; one in which the interests of the Protestant religion and political freedom shall be staked on the issue of the contest; we trust that they will rise up, in the spirit of Cromwell, and find deliverance, under heaven, in the aid of their Great Protector.

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#### ART. IV.—AN EDUCATED MINISTRY.

*Being an Address of Rev. B. Sears, D. D., before the New York Baptist Union for Ministerial Education, at its annual meeting, held at Rochester, July 12, 1853.\**

It gives me sincere pleasure to move the acceptance, and to advocate the sentiments of this report; for I am from principle, as well as in feeling, most heartily in sympathy with your enterprise. Having had some experience and observation in regard to ministerial education during many years, I must beg to be allowed to speak out my honest and earnest convictions, with some degree of freedom.

When contemplating such a subject, I am struck with

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\* This address, being extemporaneous, was not written out till after its delivery.

nothing more forcibly than with the comprehensiveness of Christianity as compared with the partial and one-sided views of many of its otherwise worthy and able advocates. Men almost always take partial views of things; the Christian revelation never does. Men prefer a favorite part to the whole. The Bible is many-sided, complete, and symmetrical. It addresses itself to man's whole nature, as it does to all classes, and contemplates that nature not as speculative, logical, practical, sentimental, or artistic, but as a being made up of opposite polarities meeting and harmonizing in a common center. In the church, along the whole line of its history, we see a tendency to analyze and separate the component parts of our living nature, and of vital Christianity, so as to impair the symmetry as well as to dissolve the unity of both.

At an early period, we see the speculative element in Egypt, under Origen, and the practical element in Africa, under Tertullian, arraying themselves against each other, and the whole church in commotion because there were two opposite poles, each of which claimed to be the equatorial. At a later period, during the middle ages, all religion was resolved into logic by the scholastic divines, and into ecstatic contemplation by the mystic. In more recent times, rationalism, pietism in Germany, prelacy and Methodism in England, and, lately, conservatism and evangelism in America, have been equally strenuous in maintaining a part for the whole. Finally, the question is, whether the Christian ministry ought to be learned or practical, which is about as sensible as to debate whether the sun ought to give light or heat. Thus we see men always going to the one side or the other of the middle line of truth, where both sides are in juxtaposition with each other. All history as well as reason shows that the most effective ministry, is that which is both learned and practical, and that for such a ministry to the greatest possible extent, we should both pray and labor. This results directly from the nature and duties of the ministerial office.

In order to judge rightly of the appropriate preparation for the ministry, we must first ascertain what are its distinguishing features, and peculiar duties. It may by some be deemed necessary, first of all, to inquire whether there be, in any just and proper sense of the term, a divinely appointed order of men, set apart to the ministry as a peculiar work. We must not plunge pellmell into the Scriptures to institute such an inquiry. The whole course of divine revelation, as it was historical, was regularly progressive. It began with

our first parents and steadily advanced, though with unequal intervals, till the close of the New Testament canon. We are not allowed to go to the books of Moses for Christian laws, nor to the days of John the Baptist for the full light of Christian doctrines, nor to the gospels for church organization. The church was not organized in the days of Christ's personal ministry, nor were its teachers set apart to the work of pastoral care. Even the Apostles did not introduce a complete and permanent organization of the church, at an early period. Everything of the kind with them was slowly progressive, corresponding with the origin and growth of the churches. First, were the elements of a church, a mere congregation of such believers as were found in one place, with a provisional and imperfect organization, a few persons being appointed to attend to such duties as were required by the circumstances of the case, the arrangements being often temporary, as there was a special reliance on the apostolic office, and on miraculous spiritual gifts, both of which, in point of fact, soon ceased. Then by degrees, and as occasion called for them, well defined and permanent offices were introduced, till, at length, near the close of the apostolic times, we find a few offices, recognized in all the churches, quite irrespective of extraordinary or miraculous gifts. Of these, the most prominent and most important is that variously designated by the name of elder, bishop, pastor, and teacher. The next in rank and importance, is that of deacon.

Now he who goes back of this later period of the apostolic age for examples of church order, and holds up the incipient and temporary arrangements of a prior period, as models of a complete and permanent organization, mistakes the embryo life of an animal for its mature form, and commits as great a blunder as if he were to deduce a physical theory of the earth from its condition, as it was on the second day of the creation, instead of the seventh.

If we observe this obvious distinction, and resort to the closing period of the apostolic age for examples of permanent church offices, though many things may still be obscure, one thing will be perfectly clear, that there was a distinct order of men admitted to the office of bishop, and that no others might meddle with that office. On no other principles can we satisfactorily explain the minute specifications given by Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus, of the qualifications which one must possess in order to justify them in appointing him to this office. If a bishop must not be a "novice," then a novice must not be a bishop. If a bishop



must be "able to teach," "apt to teach," then one who is neither, ought not to be a bishop. If he ought not to be a bishop because he is not qualified for the office, then he ought not to undertake those duties of oversight, guidance and public religious instruction in the church, which belong to the office, and lie out of his province and beyond the reach of his ability. Even if he possess some one of the requisite qualifications, and is yet destitute of the rest, he is not allowed to exercise the functions of a bishop. He must recognize another or others as over him in the Lord, and not assume to exchange places with them. Without this distinctive character of the office, as specifically different from that of ordinary church members, there can be no intelligible meaning attached to the idea of a divine call to the ministry. If the difference between the office of bishop and that of a private member of the church, be only in degree and not in kind, then it would follow that there is no peculiar ministerial call, for all Christians are called to the same work according to the measure of their ability, and this much vaunted call dissolves itself into an empty sound. The distinction, then, between the church and its pastors is not an arbitrary one, nor the result of modern views of expediency, but is of apostolical authority, of divine origin, and as permanent and indestructible as the church itself. The office of bishop is positive and definite, and made so by divine inspiration; and there let it stand.

It must not be forgotten that the peculiar duties of this office relate especially to the church. Bishops are overseers of the flock committed to their charge. They are, according to the tenor of Paul's instructions, to act the part of shepherd, and feed the flock. In a distinct, though limited sense, they are to preside and have the rule over the church. They are to expound and maintain Christian doctrines, and build up the church in the knowledge of the truth. They are, by preëminence, *Christian teachers*, and are especially bound to teach the church the entire range of Christian doctrines and Christian duties. They are consequently bound to know more on these particular subjects, than others are expected to know. It is absurd to speak of teachers, knowing less of the subject in hand than those to whom they impart instruction. A teacher may know less of other matters, but of those which are the subject of his discourse, he ought either to know more, or keep silence. All the proceedings of Christ and of the Apostles are in harmony with this view.

Our Savior was careful to see that his disciples were scribes well instructed unto the kingdom of God, in order that they

might be able to bring forth things new and old in their future public teachings. He did, indeed, choose fishermen; but he chose them as his *disciples*. He taught them as no others can teach. From this school in which the twelve were taught during the whole period of their Master's public ministry, we date the origin of ministerial education. It matters not for my argument that the instruction given was very different, both in its matter, and form, from that given in modern theological seminaries. This results necessarily from the circumstances of the two cases. Christ was not a mere teacher and expounder of sacred books, and of the doctrines and duties there inculcated. He himself revealed the will of God, and was the original source of the new ideas to be received first by his disciples, and then communicated by them to the world; and one of the offices of the promised Spirit, was to bring to their remembrance whatever he had said unto them. Now, if, in a case, where miraculous aid might have been employed to furnish the Apostles with all the knowledge necessary to fit them for their office, Christ saw fit to give them personal instruction, is it too much to say, that he has, by his own example, sanctified that kind of instruction which is needed to qualify men to preach the gospel? The fact that he called the twelve, and designed them as public teachers, does not prove that they needed not his instruction, nor are a call to the ministry, and a subsequent preparation for it, in any way contradictory or incompatible ideas.

We are dependent for our knowledge of the gospel entirely on the Scriptures, written in languages which we can acquire only by study. With the Apostles it was not so. The Hebrew Scriptures were written in their own language. But a knowledge of other languages would be serviceable to them in their ministry. Therefore that knowledge was either miraculously conferred upon them, or acquired by use. Thus while the utility of a knowledge of the tongues in which the Scriptures are written, to the original of which alone the inspiration attaches, is a sufficient warrant for the study of those tongues by men whose office it is to expound the inspired word, the gift of tongues by the Holy Spirit for the purpose of promoting Christianity, according to the common interpretation, throws the collateral light of a divine analogy upon the same point.

Besides, upon what Apostle was conferred the honor of preaching the gospel more than any other, and of being the chief doctrinal teacher of the church in all ages? Upon him who was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, a man

deeply versed in sacred lore, skilled in tongues and in argumentation. Learned, logical, practical and devout, Paul, next after the one fearless Teacher, must always stand out in history as the model preacher. Was he a mere messenger of glad tidings? or did he spend his great strength in grappling with error, in establishing great principles, in entering into stern conflict with Jew and Greek, Sadducee and Epicurean, Judaizing Christians and gnostics, with weapons mighty, to the pulling down of strongholds? Let the men who think lightly of sacred learning, and of intellectual power in the ministry, study the character of Paul as a preacher, and the sources of his power; let them follow him into the Jewish synagogues, before Agrippa, to the market-place at Athens with the philosophers, and to Mars Hill; let them read his profound discussions on the law, on justification, and on the mysteries of Christian doctrine, in the Epistle to the Romans, and similar discussions, as to power and scope, in other epistles, and then tell me if an other man of equal piety and zeal, but of less knowledge and intellectual power, could have accomplished what he did. If inspiration chooses instruments so peculiarly fitted to the work of doctrinal instruction, may we not expect that the providence and Spirit of God will ordinarily act in a similar way? Who but men of similar grasp of mind, and depth of religious feeling can so far master these epistles, "in which are some things hard to understand," as to be competent expounders of them to the people? The very form of this part of the Scriptures, the intellectual mold in which they are cast, imposes the necessity of an intellectual as well as pious ministry, for the exposition of the Christian doctrines, therein taught. How many of the strongest intellects that have appeared in the history of the church, have been awakened into their highest and noblest activity by the writings of Paul!—just as others have been by theirs. Here is the legitimate and divinely sanctioned use of the power of intellect and of knowledge, which no abuse of them by others can ever invalidate. So long as the name of the chief Apostle is honored in the church, all sneers at this species of ministerial power will stand rebuked.

The greatest lights of the church from the apostolic age to the present, have been men of talents and of learning. In the early church, there were Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine in the West; and Clement, Origen, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom in the East. What other nine in their times accomplished as much as they did for the defense of Christianity, and the propagation of it among



men? Was it of no importance to the church, that Chrysostom spent so many years in the study, first of Greek literature, and then of the Scriptures? Without this preparation, would his persuasive eloquence have been the means of turning so many to righteousness? At a later period, the church was blessed with such men as Wickliffe, Jerome of Prague, Luther, Zuingle, Melancthon, Calvin and Knox. What but their talent, learning and piety, nobly exerted in a good cause, has given them such a prominence in the history of God's people? Owen, Howe, Taylor, Baxter, Doddridge, Edwards, Fuller, Martyn and Judson, have surely left their mark upon the world. All these examples go to show that, in religion as elsewhere, talent and learning are power, and that when sanctified they are a divine power, and that all the talking and writing in the world will not alter this immutable law.

Nor is the writing of Christian books, necessarily, a departure from the appropriate work of the preacher or missionary. That is a matter of expediency, depending entirely on circumstances. The printing-press was not known in the days of the Apostles. The difference between the spoken and the written word has been wonderfully changed. A man or woman that has the ability, may now speak through the myriad-mouthed press, and the whole civilized world gives audience. Heathen children may be taught to read, and then, a printed Bible, a Saint's Rest, a Pilgrim's Progress, may reach more persons than the oral discourses of a hundred preachers. If Apostles wrote as well as preached, when copies could be multiplied only by the slow process of handwriting, what would they have done, if they could have filled the whole Roman empire with religious books and tracts, as the world is now filled with daily papers! The Apostles did not send telegraphic dispatches, did not travel by railroads, any more than they taught modern science in colleges. Preaching, writing, and teaching are all to be used, both in Christian and in heathen lands, according to circumstances. No rule can be given on this subject, but that of adapting the means to the end. Thirty or forty years ago, there was scarcely an individual in all Burmah that believed in the existence of an eternal God. Now probably not less than two-thirds or three-fourths of all the people believe in one. What has effected this mighty revolution? The work of the missionary: not so much by oral preaching, as by books and schools. What is now shaking the old empire of China, so that it is as tottering as its walls? The work of the Christian scholar, who has, by his publications, as well as oral teachings, shed a light on the subject of

God and nature, which the celestial kingdom can no longer resist. On this subject our wisest and best missionaries, to which class our honored Judson belonged, testify in accordance with what I have said. They have always asked to be recruited with men who can reason, and expound the Christian religion, as well as exhort. What would have been the state of our missions, without our theological seminaries? Look over the list of those who have been engaged in the great work of evangelizing the heathen; go through the whole catalogue of American missionaries, who are not surpassed in efficiency by those of any other nation; and you will find that the theological seminary was almost literally the mother of them all. Let another set of men be shown, who have done equal service, before we abandon theological seminaries, for the sake of propagating the gospel more effectually.

There is a twofold standard for the religious teacher, the one absolute, the other relative. *Absolute*, as growing out of the subject itself, which is nothing less than the whole system of revealed religion and its connections; *relative*, as it regards the degree of intelligence found in those to whom he ministers. All divine knowledge is in some way connected with human knowledge. For revelation itself is a fact, a matter of history, and unless we ourselves are inspired, we must acquire a knowledge of the facts of Christianity, as we do of other things—by diligent study. A devout spirit is also necessary in order to render the state of the mind and the subject-matter congenial to each other. But mere piety will not supply the want of knowledge. The books of the Old and New Testaments can not be read intelligibly, and rightly interpreted, without much knowledge of language, history, and antiquities. Neither can the principles of the Christian religion, as taught in the Bible, be properly understood without much profound reflection. Even a practical theologian and moralist needs a sound logical mind, familiar with correct processes of investigation, and habituated to continuous thought. The devious paths that lead the theologian astray are many; the way of the highest attainable success is one and uniform; it is that of avoiding all extremes. It is that in which study is united with piety, and profound reflection and investigation with practical knowledge. We need the ponderousness of weighty truths as well as adroitness in their opportune application. Ignorance is always weakness, and no sacredness in one's calling has any charm to give it inherent power or lasting influence. On the other hand, if biblical learning be pur-

sued apart from its great object, the salvation of men; if it be merely philological or antiquarian, it is but solemn trifling; and theology, bewildered in the mazes of metaphysics, is a vain and useless thing. What the preacher needs is broad and yet sound views of truth, revealed truth in all its connections, and then the will and the power to direct this skillfully to its legitimate object, the sanctification of the church, and the conversion of the world.

In most national establishments, the ministry is a mere profession. Christianity being made a civil institution, the offices of the church become civil appointments. No amount of learning in such a ministry can make it what it should be. The institution has ceased to be divine; it has become merely human. This is one extreme, than which nothing can be worse. But then Protestantism, as a protestation against Romanism, is a protest against the darkness of the middle ages, against ignorance, whether in the priesthood or laity. It erects a pulpit in place of the altar. It puts teaching in the place of ceremonies, the light of true knowledge in place of the blind devotion and spectral gloom of ignorance. Protestantism has been successful so far, and so long, as it has been true to its principles. Wherever it has failed to maintain an able, pious and learned ministry, the church has waned in the same proportion. Secular reliance and corrupt doctrine, are found where piety is wanting; and decay or extinction where an intelligent and able ministry is wanting. If the Moravians had been blessed with a ministry, as well educated as it was pious, would their position before the world be what it now is? If the old Anabaptists had not renounced learning, and trusted to spiritual illuminations alone, would they have come so speedily to their end? If the old school Baptists of the Southern and Western States, had been under the guidance of a well-informed and properly qualified ministry, would they have exhibited to the world such a pitiable spectacle as they now have, or so easily have fallen a prey to gross heresy as we see in the case of many of them? Where have our own churches prospered most, in those States where theological schools have been encouraged, or in those where the people have been indifferent or opposed to education? To what policy are the Baptists and Methodists of this country most indebted for their present condition and prospects; to the old policy of an uneducated ministry, or to the more modern policy of an educated ministry? It is a fact too obvious to be denied, that no denomination of Christians can maintain its position in society, at the present age, without



making special provision for the education of its ministers. This fact, now so universal, does not originate from the conceit of the age, but grows out of the nature of things.

An uneducated ministry labors under many disadvantages. It can not be so instructive as an educated ministry, can not open those channels of thought through which the public mind shall spontaneously flow in matters of morals and religion. When the public sentiment is formed by others in the manner less accordant with the sacred Scriptures, it is no easy task for a minister, himself not remarkably well informed, to apply the corrective effectually in his pulpit discourses. It is necessary that an acknowledged intellectual superiority inspire confidence in his teachings, and that he be able continually to pour light upon the understanding in order that truth may have its full weight upon the minds of those he addresses. Indeed, truth is apprehended only by the intellect—spiritual truth by a spiritual mind, or sanctified intellect, and it can not be otherwise than intellectually presented. He who would convince, must have the ability to exhibit truth with clearness and force. Rhapsodical and ranting preaching may produce high excitement with an ignorant people; but it will not elevate them, nor fit them for well-directed activity and influence. And yet this is mainly relied on as a means of pulpit influence by a large class of uneducated ministers. Along with it, how many crudities of thought, fanciful interpretations, strange conceits in the use of texts and figures of speech, are brought forward, to the discredit of religion and to the grief and mortification of well-informed Christians.

The work of the ministry is materially different in a Christian community from what it is in a heathen country. In the one, the glad tidings of salvation have been so long and so generally published, that the mere proclamation of the fact that Christ has come into the world to save sinners, would convey no new intelligence, and would ordinarily produce little or no effect. With the heathen, who are ignorant of this fact, the announcement of it brings to their minds a new truth of a fundamental character. All men, in order to be persuaded, must be approached according to their intellectual condition, and the measure of their knowledge of the subject to be presented. With us, the majority of the people have heard, read and thought much on the subject of the Christian religion. They know its leading facts and its moral teachings. Many of them are familiar with the doctrinal views of different persuasions of Christians, and have

definite opinions of their own, founded upon what they have been taught, or what they have observed of Christianity. It would be absurd to approach them just as you would an ignorant heathen population. They must be addressed from an intellectual point of view as elevated as their own. The plain and simple gospel may be preached to them, but not in a simple and foolish way. Foolish preaching is not adapted to make men wise unto salvation. The word is to be rightly divided, giving to every one the portion that is most suitable. If this be true, then our well-educated communities require a large number of well-educated ministers; and any omission to provide for them will prove a dangerous experiment for the church. Those who rely on supernatural aid for what may be accomplished by ordinary means, mistake the way of honoring God, and will fail to be honored of him.

There is nothing in which men are more liable to be mistaken than in comparing the present with the past. Of the men of past times, we number the few and forget the many: we remember their excellences and forget their defects. I hesitate not to say that the Baptists of America never had a better ministry than they have now. Their present unexampled prosperity is owing in no small degree, to the vastly increased influence and intelligence of their clergy. Since the commencement of theological education among us, our principles have spread as they never did before. Among the earlier Baptists of this country, there was in their ecclesiastical meetings, and in all their public action, less of union, efficiency, coöperation and orderly procedure than there is among us now. If it is difficult to find just such men among us as were once to be found, it would be equally difficult to name among our fathers such men as are now found among us. Many of them may have been better adapted to their day; our educated ministers are certainly better adapted to theirs. One of the noblest traits in the character of a few leading men of that older class of ministers who have now almost wholly disappeared from amongst us, is that which led them to foresee our present wants, and so liberally and magnanimously provide for them, by founding our theological seminaries. To see good men, but partially educated themselves, go before the people and plead for ministerial education, as did Kendrick, Hascall, Peck, Bennett, Baldwin, Gano, Going, Grafton, Jacobs, Nelson and Sharp, and to behold the satisfaction with which they contemplated the success of their enterprise, and to hear the hearty benedictions which, with their last breath, they bestowed upon those institutions, is one of the most touching things connected with their memory. If it is

to our fathers that we are, under God, indebted for our present prosperity, it is to those of them in particular, who were the stanch and fast friends and zealous and laborious promoters of ministerial education; and it would be as unjust to their memory as it would be disastrous to our interests, to lay the rude hand of Gothic devastation upon the fairest work with which they, by their toils and sacrifices, adorned the present age. Look around you for the best eulogy of those far-seeing, large-hearted, godly men. Who are the most honored and useful of your pastors? The men who were nourished up in piety, wisdom and learning at these theological seminaries, which others may dishonor, but which you will be more likely to idolize.

I have said that there is for the preacher not only an absolute, but a *relative* standard of attainment. There must be a certain proportion between the intelligence of the religious teacher and that of the people to whom he ministers. The improvements in the common business of life arising from the almost universal application of the principles of science to the useful arts, tend to create among the industrial classes, an extraordinary degree of intelligence. The mere physical power of sinews and muscles, in these days of machinery, is of but little account in the laborer, compared with the power of intelligence. With such a bounty upon intellect, it could not well be otherwise than that increased intellectual culture should be the result. Here a new demand is made upon the preacher, who appears weekly, not before a simple-hearted peasantry, or an unthinking populace, but before men whose daily business calls into vigorous exercise the higher powers of the understanding.

A similar effect is produced by the rapid transmission of intelligence from all parts of the world, and the universal diffusion of it by means of the daily and weekly press, and by the abundance of unparalleled cheapness of books. Whether knowledge is more profound than in former times or not, is unimportant to my argument. It is enough for my purpose, that it is far more widely diffused among the masses of the common people than ever before. A clergyman, in order to have the share of influence formerly allotted to his profession, must maintain his relative position of superior intelligence. Infidelity is now employing in its service many intellects, sharpened by the new intellectual movement in society. The journalist and the popular lecturer, with the new weapons of modern skepticism, have gone before the people, and by adroitly presenting their plausible objections to what is fundamental to Christianity, while they pay a



decent respect to its external form, are corrupting the minds of thousands upon thousands. Inspiration is admitted, and then explained away; the divine mission of Christ is taught, but the books containing the record of his life and teachings are called in question; faith in the existence and government of God is proclaimed, while at the same time, his personal concern in the morality of the decalogue is scouted, and license is given to passions which the Bible declares depraved. Is it an easy thing for the preacher to counteract these influences, or to rebut such pestilential error by a clear and victorious demonstration of truth? The experienced minister will say, that beside the simple statement of the gospel message, there is needed the armor of critical learning and of dialectical skill, in order to put down this apparently magnificent array of infidel speculations, and with a dignified assurance, to demand for the truth nothing but an open field and fair play.

Besides the influences acting upon the adult population and rendering it more intelligent, the public schools have entered upon a new era of their existence, and are securing a universal popular education. The immense chasm once existing between the college and the district school, is now completely filled, and multitudes are now receiving an education which was formerly restricted to a few. Our children are passing through the public schools, under this improved system of education, where an intellectual taste is acquired, and a vigorous intellectual activity commenced, which will never be satisfied with tame or extravagant preaching. It is of no use to lecture the young on this subject, or to utter complaints that our children, as soon as they are grown up, resort to other congregations. The only remedy is either to stop educating our children, or to be more active in providing an educated ministry. If we do neither, we may expect that the sons and daughters of many of our best and most influential members will cease to occupy the pews of their fathers. Let all those who speak slightly of ministerial education, look well to this.

There is still another view to be taken of this subject. A careful study of the history of Christian civilization will show that the present is one of the most important eras in the history of mankind, for the universal diffusion of Christian principles; and that in no country is this crisis of human affairs greater than in our own. The Christian civilization of the states of Europe is still shackled with the remains of feudalism. The church can not free itself from the clutches of the civil government, and consequently the higher offices

of the church are filled with the favorites of royalty; and so both Church and State combine to prevent a perfectly spontaneous development of Christian civilization. By a remarkable providential coincidence, the highest type of European civilization, allying itself with free institutions, has, in this country, reached a point of comparative maturity and stability, just at the time when an unexampled emigration from the Old World begins. Our wide-spread continent, connecting with Europe by one ocean, and with Asia by another, opens a most magnificent theater for Christian enterprise. The civilization of this vast continent, with its teeming millions of inhabitants, native and foreign, is to go backward or forward according to the amount of Christian influence that shall be exerted upon the masses of the people, during this state of our second and more solemn political probation. Though all Christians will find enough to do in this great work of diffusing the spirit of Christianity till it shall course through all the veins and arteries of the body politic, it may justly be expected that Christian ministers shall take the lead, and infuse, with the superior skill of one trained to the office, and by an alchemy divine, a vital energy into the heart of the church and of the people. If they are not prepared for this, it will be because there is culpable neglect somewhere. It is no longer the mere peasantry of Europe that are coming to our shores, demanding the labors of the colporteur; but it is now also with the educated classes, political refugees, exiled statesmen, editors or practiced writers in political and literary journals, teachers from the German *gymnasias* and universities, and theologians, full of erudition and speculation—it is with these that we have to do. This class of men, supported in their influence by a foreign literature far in advance of our own, and now translated and widely circulated in cheap books, magazines and daily papers, are at this moment spreading their doctrines in all the cities and villages of our land. Even the young men in our colleges are no longer, to the same extent that they once were, under the guidance of their professors, but are more and more influenced by the fresh and bold production of this new European school of writers. With the young men of our country, generally, a taste is rapidly growing up for every new production from the continent of Europe. Those of our own journals, which breathe most of the spirit of the latter half of the nineteenth century, are nourishing up a young America, which, in a few more years, will make work enough for those who ignore the movement. A new order of things, as resulting from these circumstances, is inevitable.

Providence evidently intends it as a means of *true* progress, as the occasion for bringing in, more fully, a spiritual, free, and all-pervading Christianity, impregnating society with its principles, and advancing it beyond its present state. But through whose agency is this to be done? What class of men owe so much to the age, in this respect, as the clergy? And what kind of men, in talent and learning, must these be, in order to render the service due, at this crisis, to God and to humanity? Next to religion, education is relied on for the salvation of the nation. Now, who are to direct the education of the young? Is it to be wholly secular, unblest and unsanctified by religion? What will be the tone of public morals, if the professed moral and religious teachers of the community are either disinclined or incompetent to exercise a guardian care over the education of the young? Society will be poisoned in its very germ. But an uneducated ministry will not be called, by the public voice, to act as counselors and guides in the great cause of popular education. Large-minded men, of extensive knowledge and ample culture, will more and more, as the importance of the subject is recognized and felt, be summoned by the people to take the supervision of so precious a charge as the education of all the youth of our cities and towns.

Thus, whatever view we take of the question before us, we are brought to the same conclusion. Other things being equal, the circle of ministerial influence and usefulness will be great or small, in proportion to the attainments and the intellectual power of the ministry itself.

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ART. V.—THE AGENCY EMPLOYED IN THE SO-CALLED "SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS,"  
NATURAL THOUGH MYSTERIOUS.

*History of Recent Developments in Spiritual Manifestations in Philadelphia.* By a Member of the First Circle. Philadelphia: J. M. Norbury. 1851.

*The Pilgrimage of Thomas Paine and others to the Seventh Circle in the Spiritual World.* By Rev. C. HAMMOND, Medium. Rochester: D. M. Dewey. 1852.

*Spirit Manifestations.* By ADIN BALLOU.

*Answer to Seventeen Objections against Spiritual Intercourse.* By JOHN S. ADAMS. New York: Fowler & Wells. 1853.



- A Review of "Spiritual Manifestations."* By Rev. CHARLES BEECHER. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853.
- Spirit Rapping Unveiled!* By Rev. H. MATTISON, A. M. New York: Mason Brothers. 1853.
- Prof. Faraday's Letters on Table Movings;* in the London Times of June 30th, and London Athenæum of July 2d, 1853.
- Prof. Hare's Letter on the Influence of Electricity in Table Turning;* dated Philadelphia, July 27, 1853.
- Psychomancy, Spirit-Rappings, and Table-Tippings Exposed.* By Prof. CHARLES G. PAGE, M. D., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853.
- Philosophy of Mysterious Agents, Human and Mundane.* By E. C. ROGERS, M. D. No. i. Boston. J. P. Jewett & Co. 1852.
- "To Daimonion," or the Spiritual Medium.* By TRAVERSE OLDFIELD. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852.
- Philosophy of Mysterious Agents, Human and Mundane.* By E. C. ROGERS, M. D. No. ii. and iii. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1852-3.
- A Discussion of the Automatic Powers of the Brain; being a Defence against Rev. Charles Beecher's Attack upon the Philosophy of Mysterious Agents, &c.* By E. C. ROGERS, M. D. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1853.

THE works, whose titles stand at the head of this article, are doubtless fair examples of the three classes of theories which the late mysteries of "table-moving," and of "rapping and writing media," have called forth. A scientific interest, akin to that of the first electrical experiments of Franklin, has the study of these novel exhibitions assumed; for, there is just as plainly a *law*, and an important law, in these agitations of the human organism, witnessed in every age, as there was in the rending lightnings, feared as supernatural in all former times. As urgent a practical importance, too, have they reached, as that of the witchcraft agitation of Mather's day. For to people our insane hospitals is worse than to people the jail; and death is, perhaps, to be preferred to mental derangement.

We have said that the works above mentioned are examples of *three* classes of theories. All of these, in one sense, give a natural explanation of the singular development of which they treat; for they maintain the undoubted truth, that in all ages of the world the same phenomena have been wit-

nessed. And what is universal and uniform has a law, and is therefore natural, to whatever class of originating causes it belongs. As widely different as are the suggested causes to which these manifestations are referred, each separate theorizer agrees with his opponent in this, as a starting point, that the developments, so mysterious, have been witnessed in all ages and among all nations of men. Here, then, is a mutually admitted first truth, whence an argument, on either side, may proceed.

A succinct statement of the *facts* witnessed in the "movings" and "communications," a notice of the classes of originating *causes* to which they have been referred, and the practical *results* to which all classes of theorizers are brought, will give the present aspect of this agitating subject.

The summary of the manifestations alluded to, may be briefly stated. A few years ago, singular electric-like snaps and rappings began to be heard about the daughters of a family by the name of Fox, in Rochester, New York. The excitement attendant on this discovery, and its report abroad, increased the development. Articles around these girls began to be moved. The same phenomena began to appear in others; chiefly in females and persons of a nervous or sanguine temperament. The developments thus far were two; the rappings, and the moving of substances. The suggestion that these were supernatural, the work of disembodied spirits, at once, as in all similar cases, arising, and the added idea being conceived, that these were the attempts of departed spirits to communicate with their friends yet in the flesh, ingenuity set itself to work to invent some method of rendering these unintelligent manifestations a medium of intelligent communications. The similitude of the magnetic telegraph seems to have prompted the mind of the inventor. Letters of the alphabet were touched, and the operator watched and noted down those letters to which, when touched, a rap responded. Thus, letter by letter, words were obtained and written out, until finally prolonged sentences were, by this process, formed. These were regarded as the telegraphic communications of disembodied spirits sent to their friends. Then, interested inquirers began to flock to those persons (usually young females) who were found to be "mediums," and money became the price of consulting them. The names of departed friends were called, with the request that if their spirits were present they would indicate it by rapping. Three successive taps were regarded an affirmative response. Then questions about their early private history, about their friends, both living and deceased, were asked, and the answers re-

ceived, by touching letter after letter of the alphabet and noting those that were responded to by the raps, displayed a knowledge of private family incident utterly astounding to the inquirers.

In the obtaining of these responses the method is usually this. A circle of inquirers is seated around the table, with one known to be a medium. The palm of the left hand of each is spread on the table, while the right hand is laid on the left of his next neighbor. After about half an hour thus spent, in fixed bodily rest and mental abstraction, the influence begins to be felt and seen. A magnetic drawing and a nervous twitching of the arms is felt. Then the table begins to move; whirling around, or oscillating up and down, at the will of the "medium." Soon, too, rappings begin to be heard. The process of questioning and answering is then commenced. In a circle frequently meeting and thoroughly under the influence, the table rocks when no hand is near it, and loud and continued thumps, shaking the whole table, beat a march as on a drum. Meanwhile, all the operators, sitting back from the table, leaving it standing alone, can see and hear these manifestations. The admission fee to these circles is usually twenty-five or fifty cents, paid to the "medium." The question is then asked by any of the circle: "Is there any spirit present wishing to communicate with me?" A single rap responding is supposed to mean "No," while three raps imply "Yes." The name of the spirit is then asked, and the questioner, touching the letters of the alphabet, notes and writes down those to which raps respond. Questions are then proposed as to incidents in the life of any individual, known only perhaps to one of the circle, as to the time, place, and circumstances of his birth, &c., and responses are given by the telegraph touch of the letters, as before. The minute and accurate replies thus given, often accordant with fact, even when the fact is not remembered by the inquirer, indicate a mysterious law operating, which is worthy of examination.

Subsequently, a new mode of communications, as it was supposed, was discovered. The arm of one, believed to be a "medium," becomes convulsed, moves spasmodically, and apparently irresistibly, up and down, and from side to side. This being regarded as the attempt of the spirit to hint a new mode of communicating to their friends, a pen or pencil was placed in the hands convulsed, and, as questions were asked, rapid and confused scrawls, more or less intelligible, and apparently involuntary on the part of the writer, scribbled out responses. Language, such as the penman can



hardly be supposed to be the author of, is thus often employed. Sometimes, moreover, sentences are penned down in a language entirely unknown to the composer, as in the Hebrew and Hindoostanee.

In noticing the different *originating causes* to which these manifestations have been referred, that suggested by the class of persons first and most deeply interested in them, should be mentioned at the outset. This class of persons, being usually of nervous and sanguine temperament, and thus predisposed to expect supernatural agency, have referred the phenomena to the action of disembodied spirits. They have been styled "*spiritualists*." This, however, is an ambiguous use, if it be not a misuse of the word. The intended meaning of those who thus employ the word, is to designate a class whose prepossessions lead them to refer mysterious phenomena to the action of *spiritual* agents in a *manner supernatural*. The word may imply this; but its proper meaning is more limited. It should indicate those who believe in the influence of one spirit on another by a *legitimate* method; in a manner regulated by law, and therefore natural. The name "*supernaturalist*" would be more appropriate; though it might be, as above indicated, disclaimed by the class referred to.

Among the leaders of this class are Adin Ballou, Andrew Jackson Davis, and others of the same intellectual make. Their view involves the questionable position that inorganic matter, and matter organized, but united to a particular spirit, may be acted upon and moved by other spirits either embodied or disembodied. This seems to be contrary, however, alike to reason, to experience, and to Scripture. It is contrary to reason; for then the idea of separate spiritual existence and of personality—the first suggestion of consciousness that we are separate, independent beings, having distinct will and intelligence, and an organized body which is under the sole control of our individual will and intelligence—this axiom of our personal identity and self-control is denied. It is contrary to experience; for we constantly observe man's spirit having control over its own physical frame, but never over inorganic matter or the dead body of another; though as we may be led to observe, it may have a species of control over the living body of another who voluntarily submits to its control. It is contrary to Scripture; for Revelation declares that "for every word and thought" of all our lives we are personally accountable to God; and we could not be thus personally accountable if another spirit than our own

could control either act, word or thought in our physical frame.

Moreover, as any mind of ordinary apprehension can decide, the professed manifestations of disembodied spirits in turning tables, and in giving communications which so often are trivial and even profane, are unworthy of intelligences cultured and refined by an abode in a higher state of being. It is but a very small class in any intelligent community, that can avoid the conviction that however mysterious these communications may be, they certainly do not come from the pure and enlightened regions of departed spirits.

It is a singular and instructive illustration of the ancient maxim, "extremes meet," to observe that the Rev. C. Beecher has virtually become the advocate of the same theory. Admitting that the manifestations witnessed are real, he first seeks to disprove the theory of Rogers, that they result from an action of the physical organism by a process which is "*a-pneumatic*" i. e. not spiritual; and he endeavors to show that the mysterious phenomena are "*pneumatic*," the agency of evil spirits.

Some faults peculiar to writers impatient of the "in nono anno" are on the very face of Mr. Beecher's book. There is a use of technical phraseology, which shows the want of thorough culture; for the true man of science never displays his vocabulary. The experienced and cultured physician talks with the people in *their* language; not in that of Greeks and Latins. Still less does a scientific man think to talk of matters *out of his department* in the terms of strict science. The technicalities of theology will be laid aside by an experienced religious teacher, and above all, the technicalities of a new philosophy will be avoided. The impression made by the opening of Mr. Beecher's book is a most unpleasant one in this respect. Moreover, there is a studied *abandon* in the construction of sentences, as well as in the choice of words, which large and finished scholarship, however fashionable this stilt-like walking above people may be, would have discarded. The disjoined *clauses* every where meeting the reader, are no more the terse *sentences* of a good English composer, than they are pleasant to the eye and ear of any reader or hearer, however rude or pedantic or truly educated.

But the chief fault of Mr. Beecher's book, is its sentiment, rather than its expression. After at length disproving, as he supposes, the physical origin of the acknowledged facts, he attempts to sustain the view that they are of *spiritual* origin; being the interference of *evil* spirits, human and satanic, act-

ing according to established laws of matter and mind. There are in his theory two apparent oversights: first, the supposed action of disembodied spirits on matter and on human bodies is entirely different from their admitted *influence* on the spirits of men.\* The latter fact, reason and Scripture ever and everywhere teach; the former is contrary to experience, and is opposed to Scripture representation, except in the special case of demoniacal possessions. Mr. Beecher expresses surprise at the position taken in "*To Daimonion*" on this latter point,† and refers to Josephus, and the Christian Fathers‡ as testimony that demoniacal possessions are not exceptions occurring only in Christ's day, and as truly anomalous as was the divine manifestation in flesh. A careful study of Josephus might correct this impression; and a minute examination of the Fathers of the Christian Church would reveal the fact that this, among a group of other errors, is to be found accredited by a class of early writers, whose authority Bible Christians question. The teaching of the Apostles, before these Christian Fathers, and the reason of the thing itself, have taught the ablest and clearest Bible students of Germany, England, and of our own country, to regard the power of evil spirits over matter, and over human bodies, just as much an anomaly as was the incarnation of the Son of God.

A second oversight in Mr. Beecher's book is the failure to distinguish between the existence in each human frame of a fluid which communicates between the mind and its bodily organs, and the idea of a universal spiritual medium diffused like an impressible ether through space.§ Whether there is a fluid pervading space, whose undulations produce the impression of light on the eye, and whether there is another fluid whose undulations produce the phenomena of electricity and magnetism, as the waves in the air produce sound, philosophers are yet discussing. Yet, should the existence of such a fluid be determined, and should it be proved that there is such a fluid for spiritual intercourse as was hinted by Pythagoras, Cicero and philosophers in the middle ages, especially in Arabia and India, yet such results could not follow, as Rev. Mr. Beecher and others following those ancients intimate might occur. No electric current flows, and no magnetic influence is exerted, except when conductors are in *immediate contact*; as Dr. Hare (soon to be referred to) asserts. Over a line of *connected conductors* an electric-

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\* See for example, pp. 20, 31.

† Review, p. 51.

‡ Review, p. 37.

§ Review, pp. 52, 55, 56.



telegraphic communication may be formed even from New Orleans to New York. Along and around a circle of connected human conductors the nervous principle may run, telegraphing the thought of one from the table or from the pen or lips of another. But the suggestion that a spirit in one country can, as Cicero suggests, report in vision, facts to another spirit in a distant land, is sending telegraphic messages without conducting wires. No scholar would have conceived the idea which Mr. Beecher has imagined from reading "*To Daimonion*," that this designation meant among the Greeks "nothing but the nervous principle." Jamblicus himself who has misled Mr. Beecher even to a credence in the spheres of Ptolemy, and of Swedenborg,\* applies it to the unphilosophical spiritual fluid just referred to; and the Greek use of the word, as well as the Latin and mediæval, was as varied and as widely different from its original import, as was the philosophy of its several employers.

In the practical conclusions of Mr. Beecher, there is the correspondent and therefore essential error or fault. The suggestion by men of learning, that these manifestations come through the agency of demons, as Rogers in his "*Defence*"† well and forcibly suggests, will have the natural effect to lead on to the terrors of Mather's day. Let men be impressed with the idea that supernatural agency is here exhibited, and there is no putting a limit to the wild-fire ruin and havoc of the excitement which must thus be produced. The very result itself seen in Mather's day should teach the writer, that he is not a just interpreter of our Heavenly Father's concealed truth. The suggestion, moreover, that these manifestations may lead to a more careful inquiry as to spiritual realities,‡ is an expectation hardly to be hoped for. The minds most interested in these phenomena, are those who have been heretofore indifferent to and ignorant of "the deep things of God," revealed by his Spirit in his written Word. They who know that Book, will have nothing to gain from any new revelations. Now all history proves that when skeptical and imaginative minds are by an excitement of this nature, drawn to spiritual thoughts, the final disappointment and reaction leave them farther from truth than before. If they be indeed demons that are acting on these devotees, the temporary banishment of one evil spirit will

\* Beecher's Review, &c., pp. 66, 67.

† Rogers's Discussion, &c.

‡ Beecher's Review, &c. p. 75.

lead to the permanent installment of seven worse than the first.

The second and directly opposite theory, as to the origin of these manifestations, is that which declares them all to be deception and imposture; regarding all that is real in the "movings" and "rappings" as the result of unconscious muscular action, and of cunning mechanical instrumentality. This is the view of men who are material in their make, or are devoted to the study of material laws, who have little of the spiritual in their composition, or who are shut out from it in their pursuits. Among purely business men, among clergymen of an unreflective cast, and among professors in physical science, the advocates of this view are found.

The work of Rev. Mr. Mattison originated in the view so common in our day, and often so just, that folly and error can sometimes be best put down by ridicule. To laugh at the follies of men as Horace and Juvenal did, frequently accomplishes a good work. The *reductio ad absurdum* has its place even in the gospel preacher's argument. But that this species of argument should be legitimately employed, it must be manifest that it is error and not truth, folly and not attested fact, which should be subjected to ridicule. Here is the fault of this class of theorizers generally. There are more things in nature, seen by the eyes of intelligent men, than enter into their philosophy. The humorous, and even ridiculous displays and communications reported, and doubtless correctly reported, by Mr. Mattison, will amuse and fortify perhaps a large class of readers. But they will not satisfy those who have witnessed more than any of this class will take the trouble to seek out. The Epicureans in Cicero's day, thus explained these same manifestations; but as Cicero tells us, they found few followers; for the idea could not be rooted out of the public mind that there was reality in some of the responses of the Sybils, and in the mysteries of the Delphian oracles. Burly Burroughs, and many another cool-headed, physical English clergyman of Witchcraft Times, in the pulpit, and in the court room, thus ran their heads plump against the irresistible current of popular belief; but as the flood broke and dashed over them, it only careered with a fiercer and more fearful plunge.

Men of physical science in this country and England, have generally assumed that the recent manifestations are chiefly deceptive. Prof. Faraday of England, has examined and written upon the table movings. He regards them as the result of the muscular pressure and movement of the hands

applied to the table, and has invented an ingenious method of indexing, so that the operator may see the lateral pressure exerted by the hands. Prof. Page, for several years engaged at the Patent Office in Washington, D. C., and known as the inventor of the "Magnetic Motor," has witnessed both the table tippings and the rappings. He regards the latter as the result of trickery; being produced by means of some ingenious mechanism concealed by the operators. The table movings he refers to the same cause as that suggested by Prof. Faraday. Dr. Hare of Philadelphia, replies to the inquiry whether electricity or galvanism may not be the moving cause. He cites several objections to such a supposition; as the last of which, is mentioned Gaziot's testimony, that the most powerful galvanic batteries could not give a spark before actual *contact*. He mentions his witnessing the experiment of a young lady; and his stating then that "the subject was a physiological mystery, not a purely physical mystery," the mystery being that people could think themselves to be moved by the table when the table was moved by them. He concludes by expressing his entire concurrence in the views of Prof. Faraday.

The view of the English and American chemists differs so widely from that of some of the most eminent *savans* of France, who during the last three-quarters of a century have reported on this and kindred subjects to the French Academy, and from that of a large number of the ablest minds of Germany and other countries, who have been devoted less purely to physical and more to physiological and psychological studies and pursuits, that it is not presumption to search into the probable grounds of this difference.

There is an "*esprit du corps*" among even men of science. Theologians and biblical students, metaphysicians and moralists, professors in the various branches of science, indeed, men in every department of knowledge, are not only liable to become scholastic, but they must be more than human if they do not become one-sided in their views. Prof. Page betrays this in every paragraph, not only in his constant depreciation of the opinions of "educated men" in general, but especially of "learned divines." Men devoted to literature, art, and to moral and religious studies, have also their "*esprit du corps*." If a man of science wishes to reach any other than those in his own class, he should have learned that human minds are cast very much in the same mold, and that men skilled in one department have as much confidence in their ability to judge out of their department as others not in that department.



Men devoted to physical science, moreover, are not always the best judges of psychological facts. A physiologist ought to be a better judge of the elements of the human organism and of their powers than a chemist; and yet even he is not independent of the psychological. Men's turn of mind is so cast in the mold of their employ, that it gives bent to all their opinions. It is rare that a physician, especially one enthusiastic in his profession, is *spiritually* minded; for he thinks of man necessarily only as an ingenious machine which it is his business to keep in repair; and on the other hand, clergymen are as generally too little practical in their habits, if not in their teachings. This every thoughtful observer sees. A professional man can hardly be a catholic thinker, a comprehensive scholar, or an impartial judge. Had Prof. Page been devoted to the pursuits of Reichenbach, Müller, and Carpenter, or Arago, or had he been the comprehensive scholar that Herschel and Humboldt are, he might have been led by the very point now shown in opposition to have acted as the warmest advocate of the "special agent" of the French Academy, of the "new power" as Arago calls it, of the "nervous principle," or "odyle," and its operation. The position of a judge in this investigation certainly does not belong to the professed chemist; or to men devoted to any branch of physical science. As the habit of such minds is most scholastic, so are they least fitted for the impartial investigation of a subject where minds differ.

The explanation of Profs. Faraday and Page is devoted to but one branch of the facts which deserve investigation—to the Rappings and Table Movings. The "movings" they refer to the fact that the hands of the operators, being pressed on the table until they have lost feeling, unconsciously act in accordance with the will, and move the table by their own pressure. Prof. Faraday modestly mentions his apparatus for testing the truth of this power. Prof. Page "takes some credit to himself for this discovery."\* His evidence that he is right arose from placing cards and other thin substances under the fingers of the operators, and observing that the movement of the hand anticipated, and went beyond the movement of the table, in the direction it turned.† No observer of these phenomena doubts the correctness of these conclusions. But the question arises

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\* Psychomancy, p. 92.

† Psychomancy, p. 88.

whether this mechanical force is all the force exerted; whether in itself this pressure of the hand is an adequate cause for the table's movement. Prof. Page knows well that his own magnets will not draw an iron bar, unless brought into proximity to or *contact with* the iron; and unless by *mechanical force* the magnets be made to drag the bar to which it adheres. The cases are precisely parallel. Dr. Hare alludes to this very fact, in disproving that galvanism has to do with these movements. When an electrified body is made to drag another, or a magnet to draw after it a piece of iron, there is indeed mechanical pressure and movement exerted on the part of the operator; but who ever suggested that these are the cause of the movement of the bar? Again, Prof. Page denies that a table can be tipped by the "mediums" without the hand touching it.\* Were this true, it proves nothing against the nervous principle as an attractive force; for it would be perfectly analogous to the magnetic force. But, an every-day occurrence, seen and attested by thousands, is not to be thus set aside. Men as intelligent as Prof. Page, and equally eminent in their departments, assert that they have again and again seen tables and other substances thus moved, when there was not, and could not be, the least contact. A clown may dispute a philosopher, when the one can only say "I have not seen," and the other can say "I *have* seen." Moreover, the avowal of such an one as Arago, the leader of the scientific men of France, and the intimated acknowledgment of Humboldt, whose *Kosmos* is at once the monument and the significant expression of his world-wide fame, ought to be a sufficient testimony as to the fact, that the cause is not purely physical.

But the "rappings" are the chief subject of Prof. Page's pamphlet. Everywhere on its pages appears the bent of his mind, and the impossibility of his arriving at an unprejudiced conclusion. He is as much an *enthusiast* as the *enthusiasts* whom he would meet. He writes thus: † "With all reverence we say it, we feel a sort of inspiration upon the laws of reaction, gravity and friction, based upon the experience of every moment of remembered life, that compels us to reject peremptorily the testimony of our best friends, of the most distinguished and credible persons, or of the most exalted intellects, when they tell us that by the mere super-

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\* Psychomancy, p. 89.

† Psychomancy, p. 79.

position of hands, or by the effort of the will, a table moves off by itself, or lifts itself from the floor, without visible agency." A moment's reflection would convince Prof. P., or any man of science, that this is precisely the state of mind he condemns in the enthusiast of opposite claims. Andrew Jackson Davis would choose as a model this very language of the man of science; and he would write, "We say it with reverence, we feel a sort of inspiration upon the laws of *spiritual dynamics*, based upon the experience of every moment of remembered life, that compels us to reject peremptorily the testimony of our best friends, of the most distinguished and credible persons, or of the most exalted intellects, when they tell us that, by the mere superposition of hands, or by the effort of the will, a table *does not* move off by itself, or lift itself from the floor, without visible agency." This enthusiasm in his science leads Prof. P. to forget the very principles which would govern him in illustrating his own science. History and human testimony are nothing to the scholastic in science; no class of men perhaps are so liable to one-sided views.

Prof. P. demands that the Fox girls should make the raps at a distance from their persons.\* Suppose some attendant on his lectures should demand that the snaps be made, at a distance from the electrical machine! He insists that if the raps can be made at all without trickery, they could be made through a thick cushion on which the girls were made to stand.† Would he admit the same test of his electro-motor? While acknowledging that the most intelligent and eminent men are witnesses for the reality of these manifestations, and declare that themselves have experienced the same, he demands that, in order to form an *unbiased* judgment, such believers should follow this rule of his:‡ "Divest yourself of all idea of the supernatural, or any new fluid, or new law or property whatever; and, regarding the performance either as a trick or case of illusion, scrutinize sharply every movement and circumstance in connection." But can he have forgotten that the very suggestion is at war with the whole theory of the nervous principle, as described by the ablest physiologists, that it is *kindred to electricity*? It might as well be demanded that Leyden jars should be charged without the motion of the generator, as that manifestations of

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\* Psychomancy, pp. 41-44.

† Psychomancy, p. 50.

‡ Psychomancy, pp. 75 and 95.



the nervous energy should be displayed when no mental excitement exists to generate that energy.

This enthusiasm also blinds Prof. P. to the fact that his investigations only leave the subject more inexplicable; and will convince the minds of many of his readers that there is a deep law in these manifestations not yet revealed. He admits that the celebrated juggler, Prof. Anderson, with all his skill and practice, has only succeeded in producing an *imitation* of these raps, and not the raps themselves.\* Can any one believe now that the young and uncultivated Fox girls are more skillful jugglers than the renowned Anderson? And if not, the conclusion is inevitable that their raps are *real*; from a law that the juggler knows nothing of. Again, Prof. P. denies all the natural explanations which others have given, and asks that, without any show of proof, the public shall receive his. "It has been stated," writes he, "that a relative of these girls has made a public statement under oath that they produce the raps with their toes, in a peculiar manner, acquired by long practice. The public papers tell us that electro-magnetism has been employed to carry out this fraud. The snapping of the joints has been resorted to by another \*\*\*\*. *The Fox girls rapped upon neither of these plans. The sound was machine-like.*"† It needs now only the assertion of one who has heard the raps from an intimate companion, that *no machine* is employed, and the whole list of physical causes suggested are proved, and that, too, by Prof. Page himself, not to be the origin of these manifestations.

We turn to notice the third and mediate theory. It is that presented by Rogers in his extended and minute philosophical treatise, and in the brief historical survey given in "To Daimonion." By Carpenter, Müller, and other eminent physiologists, its existence, origin and action have been developed. By Reichenbach and other able psychologists it has been applied to the explanation of the mysterious manifestations of our day; and by Franklin, Humboldt and Arago, those comprehensive students, it has been virtually avowed to be the agent in that great class of similar mysterious developments which, in every age and land of earth, have been witnessed among men.

As early as the days of Hippocrates, the great Grecian physician who wrote before Plato and Aristotle, a subtle

\* Psychomancy, p. 35.

† Psychomancy, p. 57.

fluid was recognized in the human frame acting in a manner similar to the electric and magnetic fluids, and serving as the medium of communication between the spirit of man and his material frame. Modern physiologists thus describe its action. When the mind wills to move any part of the body, this fluid, coursing along the nerves, contracts the muscles to which it is directed, according to our desire and determination. When again, any one of the organs of sense is impressed by objects without, the same fluid is the medium to bear the perception along the nerves to the brain, and thus to the mind. The ancient Greeks called this fluid "*πνεῦμα*;" the Romans of Cicero's day and later, "*anima*;" the Jewish Cabalists of the middle ages, "*Sephiroth*;" Descartes and his followers, "*the animal spirits*;" the physiologists of our time, "*the nervous principle*;" and Reichenbach and other psychologists of modern days (after whom Dr. Rogers copies) style it "*odyle*."

In all ages, a belief has prevailed among the ablest and most cultivated men, that the wonders of magic, to which the developments of our day are similar, resulted from the excessive action of this fluid. Those manifestations have been the moving of material substances, especially of metals; the control, by a strong man, of the physical frame of another, when voluntarily submitted to that sway; the control of the energies of reptiles, birds, and beasts even, contrary to their will; the wondrously accurate reporting of the thoughts and even the forgotten knowledge of those persons, under this control, by those controlling them; and a power of bodily agitation and of mental fervor, seemingly supernatural, in those who have learned, as an art, to practice upon this diseased action of the nervous energies. Among ancient, as well as modern writers on this influence, there has been, it is true, a blending of practical facts with conjectural theory. The *facts* in reference to the impressions of sound made through the air as a fluid, of sight through light as a fluid, and of feeling through electricity as a fluid—these facts, attested by our sensations, are established as verities; yet treatises on Acoustics, Optics, and Electricity may contain much theorizing which either is not or can not be decided to be true. So has it ever been with such minds as Hippocrates and Plato, Cicero and Galen, Descartes and Reichenbach, in treating of the mysterious manifestations produced through the nervous energy. Yet, on no subject of scientific inquiry has such an interest been felt; in none has such a chain of facts been recorded; in none has the analysis of the phenomena been more uniform and harmonious; and, therefore,

though this may be the last among its kindred class of natural powers, whose law shall be discovered, yet, when discovered, none can be more fully attested and more satisfactorily established.

The theory of those who refer these mysterious manifestations to this ever-observed power in human nature, is this: Electricity and Magnetism are kindred to the nervous principle, analogous in their means of generation and similar in their modes of action. The laws of the action of the two former powers is now determined, though they were not fixed till within the last half-century. It is not unphilosophical to make the supposition, that two of the known laws of these former powers may belong to this third power. And if, on a collation and comparison of the whole history of recorded facts, the supposed existence of those laws explains all the facts, then it is more than probable that such are the laws of the nervous influence, and it is not less than probable that this is the power producing the manifestations so mysterious.

The first of the two laws referred to is this. When a body is overcharged with one of these fluids, if bodies which *are not conductors* of the fluid be brought in contact, the fluid accumulates upon and alternately attracts and repels the body—the magnet attracting or repelling heavy iron bars, and electricity drawing and driving various material substances. Who shall limit the power of the nervous energy, which, by its silent influence on the muscles, contracts them and thus draws up the heaviest weight. If, by undue nervous excitement, this fluid be over generated and my frame become surcharged with it, what may it not move! What rappings and thumpings may it not produce!

The *second* of these laws is: When a body is overcharged with these fluids, and bodies that *are conductors* are placed in contact, it flows off over those conductors, without limit of extent. If the *electric* fluid can echo the rap, make the mark, report the thought of the operator, over connected wires, at any point he may choose, why may not the nervous fluid, when over generated, flow off over the nervous conductors of other human bodies; and the knowledge of any one of the excited circle be reported by the rap on the table, by the pen of the writing medium, or from the lips of the passive clairvoyant? An idea of this sort seems to have been conceived and hinted by Plato and Galen, not to mention other ancient observers of these manifestations.

It is sufficient for our purpose to quote the statements of two or three men of science on this general subject, and to



leave the reader, who desires further investigation, to refer to the books above cited. A commission of the French Academy, appointed in 1784 to investigate the experiments of Mesmer, (a commission consisting of four of the medical faculty and five members of the academy, one of whom was our own Franklin,) reported that they were, so far as their *causes* were concerned, referable to *four* classes, one class of which must be the result of an unknown "special agent." Of this same animal magnetism, similar in all its manifestations to the phenomena of our day, Cuvier says: "The effects produced \* \* \* leave little doubt that the proximity of two animate bodies, in certain positions and with a certain movement, has a real effect, independent of all participation of the imagination of one of the two. It appears equally clear, also, that the effects are due to some communication which is established between their nervous systems."\* Such is the power over *animate* bodies. When six years ago Arago witnessed the mysterious and powerful attraction and repulsion of *heavy bodies* in general, produced by Angeline Cottin, the nervous factory girl, he remarked to one who asked him his opinion of the force: "That is yet to be settled. It seems to have no identity with electricity, and yet when one touches her, in the paroxysms, there was a shock like that given by the discharge of the Leyden jar. It seems to have no identity with magnetism proper, for it has no reaction on the needle; and yet the north pole of a magnet has a most powerful reaction upon her, producing shocks and trembling. This is not effected through the influence of her imagination, as the magnet has the same influence, whether secretly brought near her or otherwise. It seems a *new force*. At all events, whatever it be, time and research will determine, with sufficient cases. At present we are left to conjecture. One thing, however, seems to be certain; the phenomena of this case show very plainly that whatever the force is which acts so powerfully from the organism of this young girl, it does not act alone. It stands in some mysterious relation to some mundane force that acts and reacts with it. This is witnessed in the reactions which external things have upon her person, often attracting her with great power. It is a curious inquiry, and may open to us new resources, in the nature of man and of the world, of which we have little dreamed."† Humboldt, when questioned lately as to the manifestations of the present day, held himself uncommitted, but gave partial adhesion to the view of

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\* To Daimonion, pp. 31, 32.

† Quoted by Rogers, *Phil. of Myst. Agents*, p. 58.

Reichenbach and the advocates of the agency of the nervous principle.\*

The practical *results* proved in history and by the nature of the case, to spring from these several theories, are their best tests. Whatever be the agency in these manifestations, be it an evil spirit, trickery, or the nervous energy, all thinking men give to youth the warning: "Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it and pass away." Yet the practical influence of this caution will depend very much on the foundation on which it is made to rest.

The secular and social, the physical and intellectual dangers which thicken in the path of every one who follows up these manifestations, will be courted or shunned according to the light in which they are viewed. Let them be regarded but a clear trick and many who thus judge of them will thoughtlessly and from curiosity hasten to witness and to test them, while every one whose senses shall testify that they are not all deception, will lose the confidence which he might otherwise repose in a well-meaning adviser.

Let the belief, on the other hand, prevail, that these are the work of *evil spirits*, and the excitement thus produced will so unsettle sound judgment and cause stable piety to waver, that believers and unbelievers together will be drawn, as by a serpent fascination, into the bewildering maze, where reason is lost. No human mind can breast itself against superstition. Even a Johnson will carry the impression, and the active influence of it, to the last hour of his life. A Sir Matthew Hale could not, in witchcraft times, stem the current of popular excitement which it produced; nor could his own mind preserve its stable equilibrium when borne down by such a torrent.

But let the philosophic and self-commending view prevail, that the things seen and attested by men of the greatest intelligence and coolness, are *real*; that they have been seen in all ages, and that they must therefore have a law, and then men can patiently wait to see the legitimate development of that law. Let it be received, that this law is to be found in an over-worked nervous energy, and then at once the fact will be reconciled, that some are far more impressed by these manifestations than others; that the "mediums" themselves, like electrical machines, are in better working order at some times than at others; that an uncultivated operator or lecturer, committed before a special scrutiny, will feel a disturbing influence and sometimes fail to exhibit his

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\* See National Intelligencer, Washington, D. C., of Aug. 2d, 1853.

ordinary nervous energy; that the temptation to artifice, in an uncultivated mind, not to say in a scientific lecturer, must be, under these circumstances, such that human nature can hardly be expected to entirely resist it; and that, therefore, the cool, not to say skeptical observer, will sometimes see real deceit, and therefore have reason to suspect it when it does not exist. Moreover, let the distinct impression be created that it is an over working of the nervous energies which produces these displays, that bodily prostrations, distressing nervous irritability, and perhaps mental derangement and even insanity must follow, as surely as the abuse of the digestive organs is followed by its correspondent penalty; and inexperienced practitioners will be most likely to pause before pressing further on this enchanted ground.

The *moral* and *religious* influences resulting from the prevalence of one or the other of these theories as to the so-called "spiritual manifestations," will differ even more essentially. Let the idea that all these phenomena are *trickery* take possession of the public mind, and a general want of confidence in the credibility of human testimony and of facts witnessed by the senses, will naturally follow. Strong enough in our day already is the disposition to fly away from the established convictions of our fathers, and from the surest testimony of history. Even Prof. Page, with all his professed belief in miraculous interpositions in the divine economy, strikes a blow at the very root of the testimony on which human belief in them rests, and, by the trifling manner in which he treats the case of the Witch of Endor, (where he forgets even his respect for his avowed compeer, Sir Walter Scott,) not to mention other cases, he shows that his own faith is far from being established on a reverential basis.\* Such is the natural tendency of too material a view of man's condition and relations, and this very fact, in a well-balanced mind, would awaken the inquiry whether there is not another and more spiritual field of inquiry after truth, whose just appreciation can alone lead "into *all* truth."

Even more disastrous is the opposite view, which makes all the grossness of the earthly to pertain to the spiritual. What! are these manifestations indeed *communications from spirits* in the other world? Oh, how different from what the chastened spirit of the true child of God on earth had pictured the world of spirits! With disappointment and even

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\* Compare Psychomancy, p. 33, with pp. 12-16, and with the citation in "To Daimonion," p. 122. See also Psychomancy, pp. 82, 83.



loathing, the cultivated mind, and the heart refined from earth's dross, shrink back from so gross a picture. Perhaps a few may admire, who imagine themselves to be specially spiritual, only because from the very depths of gross materialism in pursuits and habits, in thought and feeling, they have just awakened to the reality of spiritual things, and are catching their first confused glimpses and sensual impressions of spiritual ideas; and who, therefore, think themselves the only persons who have spiritual vision. But, when the light upon such minds has become a little stronger, then judgment within them begins to revolt from their own gross views, and they abandon the farther pursuit of truth, and take the bold stand of avowed skepticism. Shallow judging is this, assuredly. Yet many a Mather has been given us in different ages to warn us, that "temptation to atheism" is the necessary religious tendency of such views of the spiritual world as the believers in spiritual agency, in these manifestations, entertain.

In the view advanced by Rev. Mr. Beecher, there is an apparent conformity to right theology, which makes its first glance impression to have an aspect of truth. But in reality the idea of a "permanent law" by which finite disembodied spirits have power over material substances on earth, and over the bodies of men, is most radically opposed to the eternal spiritual truth revealed in the gospel of Christ. To suppose that evil spirits have control over matter, is contrary to all *analogy* in the works and providence of God. God himself exerts no such erratic power; for though in the special ages of miracles, for a special end, he has departed from his permanent law of immutable order, in the influence he exerts on his material and spiritual creation, yet ordinarily, certainly since Christ's day, Jehovah himself has exerted no disturbing interference on his creation. Can any man believe that he would leave within the power of evil spirits such a deranging influence? Yet again, the testimony of *history* is against this. The testimony of ancient Egyptian and Hindoo philosophers, of Grecian and Roman sages, of the Jewish historian Josephus, and of Christian Fathers, may be cited as evidence of a world-wide belief in the interposition of evil spirits in the affairs of men. But a more thorough sifting of all these authorities will show that human belief is much the same in all ages; that, under the cover of language necessarily made up of imagery addressing the senses, intelligent men like Plato and Cicero, had as clear a spiritual idea as we who boast so of our far-sightedness;

that Josephus and Jamblicus,\* and others of like philosophy mingled the notions of Grecian Neo-Platonism with correct Jewish and Christian theology, when they referred to bodily possessions with demons, as existing in other ages than that of Christ.

Most of all, this view that demons exert a material agency, is plainly at war with all consistent views of the spirituality of God's manifestations to man, with Christ's spiritual reign in the souls of men, and with all the plain teachings of both the Old and New Testaments as to our relations to the other world. When God himself, specially interposing, was "manifest in flesh," we may see a reason for the *anomaly* as to demoniacal agency; and we are prepared to receive the testimony that evil spirits were allowed to manifest (in order that it might be met by Christ) a supernatural power over things material and over the bodies of men. Yet, the deep study of a ripe and fervent Christian scholar, such as Knapp or Neander, on this point,† will reveal to him two great tendencies of human belief in such subjects; and will lead him to seek and to find the golden mean of truth between them. Not a single allusion which can be construed into a teaching of any such material influence, does the Old Testament contain; unless it be the case of Job, the whole dramatic representation of whose language bespeaks the description to be imagery; and the case of Saul, where the influence and power mentioned is but a *moral* one, and that too, such as was controlled by the state of mind of him who was affected. No such scenes as those of Christ's day, spoke of Satan manifest in flesh; any more than "the Messenger of the Covenant," who appeared to Abraham and the patriarchs, was declared "God manifest in flesh." As soon too, as Christ and his lingering miraculous power, abiding for a time with his first disciples, passed away, then this unusual influence of evil spirits ceased. In all Christ's teachings about evil spirits, there is no allusion to anything as permanent and practical, but the *moral* influence of spiritual evil. In the gospel of John, written probably after bodily possessions by demons had passed away, there is not even a single allusion (since they had ceased to become practical) to the cases of demoniac possession in Christ's day. In the latter portion of the Acts of the Apostles, all mention of demoniacal possessions

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\* Compare Josephus' *Antiq.*, b. viii., chap. ii., § 5, with his *Wars*, b. vii., chap. vi., § 3.

† See Knapp's *Theology*, p. ii., art. vii., Appendix; and Neander's *Life of Christ*, b. iv., chap. vi., § 101.

disappears; and in the Epistles, written for the world's permanent instruction, full as they are of warnings as to the *spiritual* influence of evil spirits, not a hint of any possible material agency on their part do we find. How could such men as Mather sustain and proclaim such doctrine as they did on this point. No wonder the manifest displeasure of the God of all truth attended, and always has attended, such perversion of his spiritual truth.

Let the Bible student rejoice in the confidence that he stands on the "*Rock of Ages*." Aged philosophers, like Humboldt and Arago, are childlike in their humility and their faith, when new phenomena testify to them the existence of a new law. Let not "the children of this world" condemn in this the "children of *Light*."

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#### ART. VI.—THE REV. DANIEL SHARP, D. D.

SINCE the last issue of this journal, this great and good man has finished his course, and entered into the joy of the Lord. We had hoped that he would be permitted to remain with us some years to come; for such men and such ministers are greatly needed. In an era of feverish change and uncertain speculation like the present, his calm wisdom, his unbending integrity, and his unaffected piety, can not well be spared to the cause of Christ. The influence he was fitted to exert upon the Christian ministry, is especially needed; for as a pastor and a teacher, Dr. Sharp, in many respects, was a model. His very presence in our ecclesiastical, educational and missionary bodies, aided in giving dignity, order and harmony to the whole. Alas, alas! we shall rarely, if ever, "look upon his like again." But the Lord had need of him in a higher sphere, and we bow with submission to the divine will. Forcibly, however, are we reminded of Dr. Sharp's own words, addressed some years ago to his congregation, in view of such bereavements. "The dispensations of Providence," said he, "often seem to us painful and mysterious. The mourning parent can not see why a child of uncommon promise should be so early removed by death, while perhaps another of his family who occasions him nothing but anxiety and sorrow, is spared. And it is not unfrequently the case, that *Christians are unable to explain why persons who were eminent for piety, and*



qualified for great usefulness in the church, should be taken from them in the midst of their usefulness. But, my brethren, in the anticipation of a future state, you may derive consolation. While here, it is your duty to walk by faith and not by sight. But hereafter, what you know not now shall be fully comprehended. While here, you are frequently called to walk in darkness, and it is incumbent on you to stay yourselves on the Lord your God. But hereafter you shall dwell in that light in which there is no darkness at all.

\* \* \* \* What is now mysterious, will then be fully explained. What you now consider your greatest afflictions will then be viewed as your greatest blessings. You will, probably express to each other, your astonishment at the ignorance and unbelief, and perplexity, in which you so unnecessarily and unreasonably indulged, while you sojourned on earth. And looking back on all the way in which the Lord was pleased to lead you while in this world, you will feel the thrilling sensations of joy and gratitude, while you exclaim, It was a right way, that we may come to a city of habitation."\*

Yes, "it was a right way," although he died in the full maturity of his powers, when years had ripened his judgment, mellowed his piety, and shed over his whole person the beauty of "reverend age."

Dr. Sharp was of English extraction, but warmly attached to his adopted country, in which, for long years, he felt perfectly at home, both as a citizen and a minister of the gospel. Approving its institutions and loving its people, who regarded him not as a foreigner but as a fellow-citizen, he was completely American in all his views and feelings. Tenderly, indeed, he loved the beautiful country which gave him birth, and in which he spent his early years, and where he found peace in believing. When he revisited it some years ago, he wandered over its green fields, and especially the haunts of his boyhood, with inexpressible delight. But his heart turned toward his adopted country, his home and his flock, and a happier man never set his foot on Boston wharf when he returned from his brief but pleasant tour.

Daniel Sharp was born at Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England, on the 25th of December, 1783, just about the commencement of the French Revolution. His parents were in moderate circumstances, and eminently pious, quite judicious in the management of their children, and much re-

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\* Recognition of Friends in Heaven, a Discourse. Boston, 1840.

spected by their friends and neighbors. He was wont to speak of them in terms of affectionate veneration. In early life he was the subject of religious impressions. It was long, however, before he could rid himself of the idea that to be converted, a person must believe himself one of God's elect. At last he saw the freeness and fullness of the divine mercy, and gave himself cheerfully to the Lord Jesus Christ, to be "justified freely by his grace," not as a righteous or elected person, but as a "poor sinner." It was the writings of Hervey, particularly Theron and Aspasia, then much in vogue, which had bewildered his mind in reference to personal election, but from the influence of which he was emancipated by the reading of the New Testament. After coming to the knowledge of the truth, and feeling that he had yielded himself a living sacrifice to God, he united with a Pedit-Baptist church; but at a subsequent period, after a more thorough examination of the Scriptures, with reference to the subjects and mode of baptism, he connected himself with the denomination of which he was so distinguished an ornament.

Attracted by the advantages held out to young men in the New World, and animated especially by the love of freedom, embodied in the institutions of this country, he arrived in New York, October 4th, 1805, and united with the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Williams, the father of Dr. William R. Williams of that city. He had been appointed an agent of a large commercial house in England, for which he transacted business in New York for a number of years. But he longed to be more extensively useful in the cause of Christ, although quite diffident of his own abilities, and scarcely dreaming of the Christian ministry. But his consistent piety, sound sense and excellent deportment, as well as "the gifts" he was wont to exercise in the social meetings of the church, commended him to the pastor and brethren, as a suitable candidate for the sacred office. He was, therefore, urged to give himself to this high work. On reflection, he so far conceded to their wishes upon this subject, as to become a lay preacher. He felt that he had "a call to preach," but only in this way. He therefore began to preach in destitute places, while attending with fidelity to his secular business. It was soon evident, however, that it was his duty to give himself wholly to the Lord in this department of Christian service. The indications of Providence were favorable. A friend offered to aid him in prosecuting the requisite studies, by assuming his "secular trust," the emoluments of which he generously gave him for years. Thus

encouraged, he placed himself under the tuition of the celebrated Dr. Staughton of Philadelphia, for whom he cherished the highest admiration and love.

Under such tuition and such ministry, it was impossible that Dr. Sharp should not make rapid and satisfactory progress. Although his course of studies was too brief and limited, it was eminently subservient to the great end he had in view, the preaching of the gospel. No finer model of pulpit eloquence has ever been exhibited in this country, than that of Dr. Staughton. Natural, yet dignified and commanding, with great richness and beauty of style, and a spirit thoroughly evangelical as well as fervent, this eloquent preacher drew immense audiences in Philadelphia, and elsewhere, and exerted a wide spread influence in favor of evangelical religion. Something of Dr. Sharp's dignity of manner, beauty of intonation, clearness and elegance of style, must have been owing to such example and tuition. It was connatural indeed to the man, for Dr. Sharp could not be otherwise than dignified, impressive and even eloquent; but the whole unquestionably was enhanced by the influence and example of his venerated tutor.

Dr. Sharp was ordained on the 17th of May, 1809, at Newark, N. J., as pastor of the First Baptist Church, then in a somewhat feeble and unpromising condition. His connection with this church, was comparatively brief, but it proved of great advantage to both parties. On the death in 1810, of the Rev. Caleb Blood, for whom Dr. Sharp had preached once or twice, while on a visit to New England, he was invited to supply the vacancy in the pulpit of the Charles Street Church.\* This invitation he declined, but being renewed in 1811, he acceded to the wishes of the church, and was publicly recognized as pastor, April 29, 1812. He continued in this connection till his death, an eminent example of pastoral fidelity and success.

Dr. Sharp soon found himself at home in Boston. He found a friend and counselor, and co-worker, in the excellent and venerable Dr. Baldwin, for whom he cherished the highest regard. He took an active share in all benevolent enterprises, many of which were just starting into life, which have since grown into such magnitude and importance. He was a member and active laborer in the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, which had for its object the evangelization of the destitute portions of this country, and for

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\* It was originally the Third Church. The name was subsequently changed to Charles Street Church.



years, assisted in the editorial care of the *American Baptist Missionary Magazine*. When a society was formed, at the instance of Messrs. Judson and Rice, who had become Baptists in India, "for the propagation of the gospel" in that country, Dr. Sharp was among its first and most ardent supporters. He felt the appeal made by those noble, self-denying men to the Baptists of this country, and resolved, come what might, "if they went down into the well," as he himself once expressed it, in the language of Carey, he and others "would hold on to the rope." He aided in constituting the "General Convention" of the Baptist churches in this country, for missionary and educational purposes, at Philadelphia, in April, 1814. He approved equally of the formation of the Missionary Union, at a subsequent period, and was honored with high official stations in both of these bodies. Long connected with the board of managers of the Triennial Convention, it is impossible to estimate how largely the cause of missions is indebted to his wisdom, piety and zeal. His unbending integrity and firmness, manly frankness and prudence, commanded the respect of all associated with him, for years, in that delicate and important trust.

Dr. Sharp was profoundly interested in the cause of ministerial education. He was anxious to see the denomination of his choice elevated to the highest position of respectability and usefulness, and he well knew that this great object could never be gained, without a well trained, intelligent ministry. He was one of the founders of the association which subsequently grew into the Northern Baptist Education Society, and aided, in various ways, in building up the Newton Theological Institution. He coöperated with Cobb, one of his own members, Farwell and others, in this generous enterprise. He long presided at the meetings of the Northern Baptist Education Society, as well as in the Board of Trustees of the Institution fostered by his care. He was also connected with Brown University, as a Fellow, and with Harvard University, as one of the Board of Overseers, both of which institutions did themselves the honor of conferring upon him the title of Doctor of Divinity. He himself attached little importance to such distinctions, even while appreciating the courtesy which conferred them. Every one, however, felt that they were altogether appropriate in his case, and that the institutions which bestowed them evinced their discrimination by such marks of esteem.

Dr. Sharp was connected with many other benevolent institutions. He coöperated with Christians of every name,

in works of faith, and labors of love. Though never compromising his principles, or hesitating to preach the whole truth, plainly and effectually, he won, to an extraordinary degree, the confidence and esteem of the various denominations with which he was surrounded. All mourned his departure as a father in Israel, and united to do him reverence at his funeral. He was the intimate friend for many years, of the late Dr. Codman of Dorchester, and of Amos Lawrence, Esq., of Boston, from whom he received many tokens of respect and affection.

Dr. Sharp did not indulge the ambition of authorship. Quite a number of his sermons, however, were published, at the request of friends or ecclesiastical bodies. They are distinguished for their spirit of wisdom, sobriety and good sense, clearness of arrangement, vigor and elegance of style. A practiced eye might detect here and there a slight want of polish; but this would instantly be overlooked or forgotten, in the general excellence both of matter and manner. The doctor's ordinary pulpit ministrations were prepared with great care, and abounded in clear, strong, comprehensive statements of the great truths and obligations of our holy faith, with plain, pungent appeals to the conscience and the heart. Naturally conservative and moderate, some might complain of a slight want, in his discourses, of the more fervid and impassioned element, but this was amply compensated by the broadness of his views, and the practical energy of his appeals. He had a noble disdain of everything mean or wicked, while cherishing a compassionate tenderness for weakness and imperfection. He exhorted to a lofty ideal of Christian attainment, and was especially anxious to see religion reduced to practice, in the minutest details of life.

Our venerable friend never indulged in philosophical speculation, or subtle refinements of any sort. Yet the tone of his mind was eminently rational and liberal. The Bible alone, was his standard. To the decisions of that divine book he bowed with implicit reverence. But he was ready, and on this very ground, to give to every man a reason of the faith that was in him. He had no sympathy with superstitious dogmatism. Convinced himself on rational grounds, as to the divine authority of the Sacred Scripture, he wished all others to be convinced on the same grounds. Hence his preaching was plain, scriptural, argumentative and instructive. He could indeed be fervid and impassioned, and when thoroughly roused, he would pour out, from a swelling heart, a torrent of sacred eloquence. Generally, however, he was

calm, instructive and practical. He imagined that too little attention was given by preachers to the duties of Christianity, and it was in this field especially, he shone as a preacher. No man ever presented, in more perfect detail, all the graces of the Christian character. His own heart was charmed with the beauty of holiness, and he did not fail to present its divine lineaments to others.

As a pastor, Dr. Sharp was faithful, patient and affectionate. He presided, with great dignity, at the meetings of the church, and never failed to preserve order, harmony and peace. The members of his church and congregation looked up to him as a Father and a friend. He was faithful to them, and, we believe, they were faithful to him, even unto death.

As a man and a Christian, Dr. Sharp was eminently esteemed and beloved. His character was perfectly transparent and consistent. No man could be long in his society, without feeling, that in all things, he was completely honest. His word was his bond. In his intercourse with society and his brethren, he had no disguises, no secret purposes, no selfish ends. He said what he meant, and he did what he said. He walked about among us, an embodiment of the highest dignity, simplicity and integrity. To some he might appear slightly repulsive, and at times severe; occasionally perhaps he carried a point too far; but it arose from the honesty and dignity of his nature. It was but an exaggeration of his highest virtue.

Those who knew him best honored and loved him most. He was a man of peace. He esteemed his brethren, and treated them with kindness and consideration. In a word he was a noble specimen of a Christian gentleman, and this was one of the secrets of his extensive influence among all classes of society.

In the bosom of his family and his friends, to whom he was greatly endeared by his eminently social qualities, and especially by the depth, tenderness and generosity of his domestic affections, he was of course most at home. The loss to those he loved is immense. It can never be retrieved on earth. One consolation, however, remains to them, now that he has entered into glory, that this circumstance will greatly enhance the attractions of the heavenly world; and we would therefore address to them, in closing, his own beautiful words—"You have been sorely afflicted. He who was the stay of your house, the soother of your cares, the hope of your future years, has been taken from you. This providence, dark as it may seem, is designed to accomplish



some gracious purpose. May we not hope that it will eventuate in impressing upon your minds, more just views of the uncertain tenure and unsatisfactory nature of all earthly good? God has probably, among other reasons, removed those that were dear to you, in order that your affections might be more detached from earth, and your thoughts be more frequently with that blessed society to which, if Christians, you are hastening.

"Instead, therefore, of passing your days in gloomy and unavailing recollections, of joys departed ne'er to be recalled, consider the gracious designs of your heavenly Father, even in your severest trials. He has not afflicted you willingly, but for your profit, that you might be partakers of his holiness. And although you must now travel to the Celestial City, without the company of those whose conversation and kindness have formerly beguiled the tediousness of the way, yet still there is consolation for you. The remainder of your journey will be short; and at its close you will join your beloved companions and friends who have already entered into rest and glory."\*

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\* Recognition of Friends in Heaven. A Discourse by Daniel Sharp, Pastor of the Charles Street Church, Boston.

The following letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Neale, we believe is among the last which Dr. S. wrote, and will give a good idea of the state of his mind previous to his death. It was written from Baltimore, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health, but where he died.

"STONELEIGH, Baltimore Co., Md., May 3, 1853.

"I thank you most sincerely for your most kind and sympathetic letter. I reciprocate all your good-wishes and affectionate expressions. Your friendly words have often cheered me. I think of the many pleasant walks and interviews we have had together, with great, very great satisfaction. To me friendship has ever been and is the wine of life. I would not live secluded and alone, could I help it. My motto is, 'Poor is the friendless master of a world.' I think with great pleasure on former years, and the friends that have been gathered around me. We may have other interviews on earth before the last blessed and permanent meeting in heaven.

"I have been more than a week, at my most excellent friend's mansion, Robert P. Brown, Esq., about six miles from Baltimore. He and his excellent lady have been to us as a son and a daughter. I hope I am a little better, and yet I fear I shall never be so '*Sharp*' and energetic as heretofore, nor so instant in season and out of season in regard to my pulpit ministrations. Well, I will not complain. I am perfectly satisfied with the allotments of divine Providence, and trust my life has not been wholly in vain. Mrs. S. unites with me in kind regards to Mrs. N. and best wishes for the welfare of your children.

"Truly yours,

"DANIEL SHARP."

## ART. VI.—EXPERIMENTAL THEOLOGY.\*

BY REV. E. G. ROBINSON,

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THE service that has brought us here this evening can not but turn the first thoughts of most of us to one, who a twelve-month ago was in life and among us, but who to-night sleeps with the dead. And, surely, it is fitting, that in passing to the evening's reflections, we take his resting place in our way. The thoughts that are to engage us will take a sober coloring from eyes that have but glanced at the tomb, especially the tomb that conceals from us so much of intellect and piety. It might be profitable even to linger here in our meditations; it would strengthen our courage to look steadily at the example of one, who, while compelled, his life long, to defend himself against the attacks of disease with the one hand, could yet with the other, accomplish so much for the Master.

But he needs no memorial at our hands; and least of all, in this place where genius and sanctified friendship have already presented one inimitable in its beauty and eloquence. Indeed, he had engraved a memorial for himself on the spirits of his pupils. He had erected to himself a monument in every mind that had felt the power of his influence. The monuments of his worth, and witnesses of his toils, are here, and are scattered throughout our land. His works will be still praising him.

But to stand in his vacant place, and take up his work where he left it, is certainly no idle undertaking. You know how sad and solemn is the task laid on him who is made to lift, with untried hand, the staff that dropped from the hand of such experience. Your sympathies and prayers, I am confident, may be relied on for the future; for the present, your kindly attention is bespoken, while a delineation is attempted of the need and the advantages, in our day, of what, for the want of a better phraseology, may be denominated *Experimental Theology*.

We have Theologies, systematic and biblical; and Theologies, philosophical, historical, dogmatic and practical. We hear, with acknowledged propriety, of our need in Theolog-

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\* Delivered as an Inaugural Address at Rochester, July, 1853.

ical studies, of systematic arrangement; of biblical exegesis; of a philosophical spirit; of a knowledge of history and a regard for practical piety. It is with equal propriety, I trust, that we dwell at this time, on our need, in the study of Theology, of earnest regard to that experimental knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, which, if Christianity is to be of any practical avail for us, must always be found in the heart of the believer.

Theology has been denominated a science, and so denominated, perhaps, with correctness. The work of the Theologian, as such, is scientific. It is to prove the doctrines he teaches to be true, and if he will, to classify and arrange them in a system. But there is danger lest the scientific spirit of the Theologian should degenerate into the mere spirit of science; lest the doctrines of Theology should come to be regarded, not as containing those great truths without which there is no help for man in this life or the next, but as mere dogmas to be tested by logic, and adopted or rejected as they survive or fall in the trial. Against this danger, protection may be found in ever keeping in mind the relation of Theology to the heart. Every doctrine of Theology has such relation, which can not be overlooked with impunity. Let then, our need of ever bearing this relation in mind be the topic that shall now engage our attention.

1. This need, we think, may be seen first, by a recurrence to the mode by which Christian doctrines have been revealed to men. These were not taught dogmatically from Heaven. For aught that we know, they might have been reduced to strictest forms of logic, and been given to the race, as was the decalogue, an unchanging creed for all times. But such was not the divine plan. Christ himself did not so teach. Even He in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, who was God manifest in the flesh, though he spoke as never man spake, restricted himself for the most part in his teachings, to the exposition and enforcement of those truths, which were already so familiar to men as to be styled by him, the "earthly things" of his religion. To those profounder and more mysterious truths, the "heavenly things" of his system, it is true, he made allusions not infrequent, but allusions in parables and in forms of speech unintelligible to the hearers at the time of their utterance. Not until the Spirit had come to guide into a knowledge of all truth, and the apostles had inwardly felt what they had failed to understand, was that language made intelligible. To the apostles, then, was it reserved to complete a revelation; to give to man an exposition of the profounder and more mysterious doctrines of the cross.



To inquire into the reason for reserving to mere apostles a revelation of truths so momentous, when God himself had once tabernacled among us, and spoken to man from the lips of a man, would be to turn too widely aside from the object before us. Of one thing, however, we may be certain, the doctrines of the apostles were not—what the Deists of a former age and the Rationalists of all ages have asserted—the mere inventions of men. Such a notion is refuted by the very doctrines themselves; is utterly irreconcilable with the whole spirit and tenor of the apostles' lives. But it is not impossible, perhaps I should say, is not improbable, that the apostles were appointed to be the revealing mediums of the last and most important truths from Heaven to man, because it was indispensable that all truth designed to be practical, as was Christianity, should first be presented to man in its concrete or actual form, and afterward in its abstract or verbal formula. Every truth designed to be practical must have the basis of fact; must, in a word, be but the description or definition of a fact. Thus, God revealed himself to the Patriarchs and to Moses—became actual or real to their senses, and then came the truth of his existence. Jesus Christ, who was the incarnation of the doctrines he taught, first lived and died, and then came the doctrines of his divinity, atonement and intercession.

And so of those truths or doctrines which are descriptive of the great spiritual facts of man's inward experience, and are designed to be perpetually reproduced in the experience of men; all these did God first make to be actual or real in mere men like the apostles. They, gifted with the spirit of inspiration to preserve them from error, as well as favored by the personal instructions of Christ himself, have given us the doctrines which they experienced, and which must be reproduced in the experience of all true believers.

Thus, the origin of those doctrines revealed through the apostles, was in the highest sense supernatural or divine; while, at the same time, the mode of their evolvment was equally natural or human. Doctrines were not revealed through them as passive, unconscious beings. The Holy Spirit did not play on them as the musician plays on his instrument, eliciting sweet music by breath and dextrous fingering of keys. Nor yet, did the apostles arrive at their doctrinal conclusions by the deductions of reason. Their doctrines were in no sense the results of ratiocination. They were not reasoned out, but *felt* out. They were the thoughts of God made actual to their souls by experience. They were the bringing forth into light, and clothing in the lan-

guage of men, the most solemn and deliberate convictions of their hearts. Thus, the doctrines of the apostles became the exponents of their experience—signs of the hidden power in their souls—daguerreotype images of inward emotions caught by the intellect and set in the frame-work of human language. Such was the origin of the doctrines of John, of Peter and of Paul.

But the doctrines of the apostles, we have intimated, were to be reëxperienced in the hearts of believers; were, so to speak, to be reoriginated in the consciousness of all who should receive them. They were to be felt out by each individual believer, not as independent truth, but as the only revealed truth from God to man. Christians were first to derive their creeds from the Bible only, and then test the truth of their creeds, the validity of their experience and the genuineness of their emotions, by recurrence again to that same authority, the Bible. What the inspired apostles felt and wrote as doctrines, the Holy Spirit designed to be the unchanging type of all Christian experience; his own chosen instrument in the work of both the renewal and the sanctification of man, to the end of the world. The Holy Spirit, taking the mysterious and half-understood words of Christ, and making clear to the consciousness of the apostles the divine depth of their meaning and power, enabled them to write out in language, an exposition of that meaning and power, in the doctrines which they have left us. And in all time since, the same Spirit, no longer inspiring men to originate new truth, but dwelling in them as a sanctifying presence, reënacts in the believer, by the words of the apostles, what He wrought out, at the first, through the apostles' experience. So that a Christian's experience, if it be genuine, will not only be in harmony with the word of God, but will be a reproduction of that word. His creed, should he attempt to express it, will be, so far as it goes, just what the Scriptures show us to have been the creed of the apostles.

Thus, a man's *real* creed will always be just what he has experienced, and no more. The formulæ of his faith will be just what his intellect has gathered from his heart. If his heart bears the image of Christ, so will his creed. Creeds that *are* creeds, *always* mirror the hearts that believe them. What are our creeds but attempted representations, by symbols, of a common experience? And what are Systematic Theologies, but attempted classifications of these mirrors or types of an age?

The forms of Christian doctrines, it is true, may vary with the ages, and have sometimes been in the same age dis-

cordant and antagonistic. The difference of philosophy, and the difference of constitutional temperaments and of intellectual endowments, are all traceable in the different forms of Christian doctrine. The philosophy of a man always gives its coloring to the lenses through which he looks in upon the interior of his soul. The same truth may spring forth from different hearts, with form and feature so unlike as to escape recognition among the most scrutinizing. But, be form and feature what they may, the prevailing doctrines of an age are always exponents of the prevailing experience; and, while the Theologian is to test the truth of all doctrines by Scripture, it is none the less his duty, making allowance for the influences of his age, to keep steadily before him the relation of the doctrines to the heart.

2. Again, another reason for ever bearing this relation in mind is discernible, I think, in the weight which always attaches to the evidence of experience in our decisions on the truthfulness of doctrines. To have experienced the power of a doctrine in the soul, is to have passed through the twilight of doubt into the field of open day and of clear vision.

The truths of exact science—of all philosophies—address themselves solely to the intellect. It is on the intellect alone, that they exercise their power. But the truths of Christianity are addressed to the affections as well as to the intellect. The heart is the seat of their throne in the soul. No one of them becomes practically believed—becomes an actualized reality—till the heart has felt its power. But when that power has been felt, the soul has reached the highest point in the scale of evidence. A direct revelation from heaven could hardly add weight to the proof of its truth. He has “tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come.” Instead of hearing of God only by the hearing of the ear, the eye now sees him. The soul, in exultation exclaims, “I know in whom and in what I have believed.”

Thus the last, best and always conclusive evidence of the truth of a doctrine is, that we have felt its power. Reason as we may from the exposition of particular texts, or from scriptural induction, the end of all controversy, to a real Christian, about the proper Divinity of Jesus Christ is, that he has been up, alone, in silence and amid the awful gloom of conscious guilt, to the mount where, with Moses and Elias in full view, he has seen his Saviour transfigured before him. It was then and there, that the listening ear caught in the calm atmosphere of a heavenly peace, the assuring words, “This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.”



It is true that in ascending the mount of transfiguration, there may be many a dark and bitter hour. Darkness always lies about its base. The letter always killeth; it is the Spirit only that giveth life. The first work of the doctrine of Christ is to lay the soul low in the grave where Christ laid, crucified with him; that "like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

And such is the office of every distinctive truth of Christianity. All are humiliating and crucifying. There is not one, but in its first stern grapple with the soul, forces the exclamation, "Lord, help or I perish." But when the doctrine has completed its triumph, and the vanquished soul, all trembling and helpless, sinks beneath its power, then is it that, as with Jacob of old, "the day breaketh," and the soul in astonishment exclaims, "I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." Such is the experience of him who has felt the power of a Christian doctrine. And such, too, must ever be the experience of one who would know Christian doctrines in the plenitude and saving efficacy of their power. And such, still more, is the experience, which the theologian, in this age of Christian instability, of changing creeds and spurious charity, should ever aim to produce, bearing steadily in mind the connection that subsists between his theology and the heart.

3. The real authority of doctrinal formulæ or creeds, is another reason for carefully attending to this connection. I say *real* authority, because a false has often been attributed to them, and because all authority has sometimes been denied them. At one time, creeds have been foisted into the place of God's word. Bigots, all forgetful of the truth that,

"Who would *force* a soul, tilts with a straw  
Against a champion cased in adamant,"

have branded men as heretics, for non-submission to them, and consigned them to torture, death and damnation eternal. And then again, on the other hand, shallow impertinence, with impudence equaled only by its ignorance, has fulminated its denunciations of all creeds and formularies, as of the devil and to be burned. Yet creeds have an authority; an authority not difficult to define, and easily traced to its seat.

A Christian doctrine, it will be admitted, has authority with him who believes it. It is an authority derived, as we have before seen, from the double source of God's word and his own experience. And it is an authority that is ever gain-

ing weight. Every fresh recurrence to the word of God strengthens it. Every new experience heightens it.

Experience, it is true, has not like the Bible, an authority of its own. Indeed, it has no authority at all, except what it borrows from the Bible. To secure for itself a hearing, it must first prove itself the offspring of an authenticated doctrine. But, once in existence, it gives weight, in return, to the authority of the very doctrine which first gave it its own.

In our first acquaintance with a doctrine we may be quite unconscious of the infinite might that reposes in it. But it is of the word eternal; it is a thought of God, and like God is infinite. The more intimate our acquaintance with it, and the profounder our experience of its power, the more profoundly we reverence it, and the more implicitly we obey it. I say obey it, because a doctrine is but a precept in the style of a proposition; and a precept is but a doctrine in the form of a command. The one may be translated into the other by a change of phraseology—the doctrine into precept and the precept into doctrine—but the soul of the truth in each is ever and immutably the same. It is the same spirit now commanding and now asserting. It is the same spirit of truth, alike pervading and alike active in every part of the system. Each particular truth, whether in doctrine or precept, is but a disintegrated fragment of an infinite whole, which surrounds and envelopes us in our finiteness, like infinite space. But let one truth come in contact with the soul; let its secret power be felt, its hidden light be seen, and a clue to the whole system is laid hold of; a door is at once opened into the very presence chamber of the Eternal. To have experienced that power is to have heard the voice of Jehovah. And thenceforward the representative of that experience—the doctrinal formula—stands before the soul speaking on the authority of the Most High God. Such may be the authority of a doctrine to an individual soul.

But doctrines are gathered into creeds, which become the exponents of the faith of a sect. And these creeds become invested with a species of authority which no reflecting man will be in haste to impugn. That which may have guided giant minds and heroic hearts safely amid the perils of life, and been to them a pillar of fire in the night of their distresses, will not be flippantly spoken of, or lightly esteemed by the earnest and the thoughtful. Yet varying creeds can never take the place of the unvarying word which endureth forever. That, only and always, is the ultimate appeal. By that let all creeds be tested. If they stand not the trial, it is because there is no truth in them. But if the Scriptures sus-

tain them, let their truth be acknowledged, though they belie our experience. "Let God be true and every man a liar." Let the Theologian abandon his creed, and examine anew his experience in the light of the Scriptures. Let him study his Theology in connexion both with God's word and his own experience.

4. Again; another reason for carefully attending to Experience in the study of Theology, is found in the personal peril of him, who overlooks it. The doctrines of Theology all have, what may be called their moral power. It is the possession of this power, which distinguishes Theology from all human science. It is a failure to recognize this distinction which constitutes the peril. Philosophy may be studied for the sharpening of the intellect, or for the settling and arranging of principles. We may resort to physical science for knowledge, or for amusement. We are at liberty to enter any field of mere human inquiry, and toil as long and laboriously as we will, for public or private ends, and no law of science need be broken; no tie that binds us to man be sundered; no element of our own moral constitution be disturbed. But the domain of Theology belongs solely to God. It is His garden. Its trees are Trees of His planting. And "all the trees of the Lord are full of sap." Every revealed truth of God is a principle of life. His words are spirit and life. And they are addressed to spirits, and have to do with life. They are designed to affect our moral natures; to transform and make them meet for the presence of God. And constituted as we are, that which is intended to bless will bless, or it will curse. And the greater the blessing unimproved, the greater the curse incurred. Theology must be to him who studies it, either a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death.

5. Another inducement for ever keeping in mind the influence of our Theology on the heart, may be found, I apprehend, in the dissatisfaction with old forms of faith, so strikingly displayed in our day, by the numerous desertions to one or the other of those antipodal parties, the Papists and the Spiritualists. Is not the real explanation of these religious apostasies, these ecclesiastical gallopades, to be found in the utter oversight and neglect, in the beginning, of the spiritual significancy—the actual influence on the heart, which the creeds they abandon were designed to represent? Is it not, indeed, an intolerable conviction of the shameful disagreement between their actual experiences and the import of their creeds, which impels to the desertion.



Animated with the vain hope of relief from change, they cast away one creed, and hastily seize another,—

“They change the place but keep the pain.”

And surely, it is a most noteworthy sign of these our times, that so many men, from stately bishops to flippant shop-boys, are ready to join in the insane cry of “dead orthodoxy,” “dead orthodoxy,” and forthwith betake themselves with shameless haste, the one to a church so exacting in its demands, as to deny the right of private judgment, and the other to a multitude whose only bond of union is an agreement to discard all authority in religion, and sit, each an obedient listener to the lying oracle in his own bosom. To evangelical religion, the numerous affinities of the papists and the infidels make them one in their common hostility. Both reject the Bible as an ultimate authority. Both assert an irreconcilable disagreement between the requirements of the Scriptures, and the existing piety of the Protestant church. To both these classes of enemies our sufficient reply is to be sought, not so much in the reiteration of “the Evidences,” as in a growing conformity of life to the doctrines we profess to believe. We must prove to them by the superior type of our piety that “their rock is not as our rock, our enemies themselves being judges.” We must live our religion rather than talk of it. And while the papist mumbles his prayers and kisses his crucifix, and the atheist raves his maudlin blasphemies, let us not forget that the disease which destroyed them is contagious and mortal. Let us guard against its first infections, remembering how much easier it is to forestall a disease than to attempt its removal when seated.

The cause of these changes and apostasies, as we have intimated, lies in the neglect in Theological studies, of that very thing which is now engaging our attention. Against the first approach then of that cause, we can not guard with too watchful a jealousy. It may be entirely overlooked and forgotten. One may proceed in his investigations and reflections in Theology, just as the student of Natural History proceeds, when he shuts himself up to the study of the dried specimens before him, quite forgetful of the functions of life which they all once performed. Closely examining the structure of each doctrine, and determining its species and genus, and carefully affixing its label, he may arrange his Theological cabinet with artistic skill and imposing effect. But his studies are ever among the dead. He, on the contrary, who would have this study become to him, what it should, an engrossing and life-giving pursuit, will behold in

each doctrine he examines a form where reposes, or once reposed, a power that can comfort, or could comfort, it may be, the hearts of weary millions. He will examine every doctrine with a view to its influence on the heart. The very atmosphere around him will be refreshing; his own heart ever redolent of life. The all-quickening spirit will dwell in him and, through him, proclaim again, with life-giving power, the same truth which he dictated of old in the days of inspiration.

6. And here let me mention, as yet another reason for the study of Theology in the manner I have described, the influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart; his influence both in the beginning of the heart's renewal and in its progressive conformity to the mind of Christ. It is the office of the Holy Spirit to enlighten the eye of the understanding that we may see the beauty of the truth; to open our hearts that we may receive the truth in the love of it; to renew a right spirit within us, that is, give us new spiritual tastes; to help our infirmities, making intercessions for us with groanings which can not be uttered; to make us temples for himself to dwell in; to sanctify us unto God that, at last, we may be presented faultless in the presence of his glory with exceeding joy. It is of the Spirit that we are born; by the Spirit that we believe; by the Spirit that we hope; by the Spirit that we pray; by the Spirit that we love; by the Spirit that we grow in grace, and it is by the Spirit that we are to enter, at last, into rest.

It is true, that the Scriptures speak of the word of God as the instrument through which the Spirit accomplishes his work. It is by that word that the Spirit begets the believer to a new life, and by it that he sanctifies him. But the active agency—the power—is *alone* with the Spirit. The glory of our salvation can no more be attributed to the word of God only, than the glory of a Praxiteles or a Canova can be ascribed to the chisel or mallet with which they wrought into beauty their immortal creations.

Yet the word of God has its office, and an office which can not be too much magnified by him who first does homage to the all-creating Spirit. The word of God is the sword with which the Spirit slays us; it is also, according to Paul, a form or mold into which He delivers us when He creates us anew; it is a transcript of the Divine Mind; a locket-picture of the Deity, which the Spirit holds before us, changing us into the same image from glory to glory.

But while we thus recognize the position and the priceless value of the truth; while we admit, as we have done, its eminent fitness to man's moral nature, and its exact adapta-

tion to the office which it fills; yet never should we forget its utter inability to save us, except in the hands of the eternal Spirit. Never should we cease to remember that the word can become effective for us, and its divine beauty be revealed to us, only in the heart, the Spirit's inner sanctuary. And, assuredly, we should not forget that what is true of the word of God, is equally true of our Theologies, and our theological doctrines. It is the heart which the Spirit sways and sanctifies by the doctrines, and it is with an eye to its influence on the heart, that the doctrine should be studied.

7. But the doctrines of the Bible are to be proclaimed to the race; let, then, what may be regarded as the divinely appointed mode for the diffusion of the gospel among men, supply us with another and our last argument for an Experimental Theology. What that mode is, may be learned, in part, from the work which Christianity proposes to accomplish for us, and in part, from the examples of Christ and his apostles as they proceeded in the beginning to effect it.

Christianity proposes the salvation of men. "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;" but not to save them irrespective of their fitness for salvation. He came to make men "*meet* for the inheritance of the saints," to make them *new creatures* in himself. His mission was to establish a new spiritual lineage, and found an empire in the souls of men that should run through time and eternity.

And how did Christ proceed in his work? Did he begin by propounding the more mysterious doctrines of his gospel, and by laying down a code of laws which men must comprehend and subscribe to, before becoming his disciples? Did he not rather first gather about him, from the most uncultivated district of his native land, a band of men into whom he breathed, out of his own bosom, the spirit of his religion, and whom he afterward sent forth to multiply his disciples in other lands? Was it not by direct personal contact and out of the Spirit that "God gave not by measure unto him," and that himself, after his ascension, so copiously poured forth at the Pentecost, that he imparted to his apostles the self-disseminating life of his church for every age and among every people?

Christ Jesus came to our earth, it is said, to suffer and die that we might live. But why lingered he for three weary years and a half after he had entered on his official work? Was it to multiply disciples? Many an illiterate servant of his has won for him more and in far shorter time than he won for himself. Was it not, rather, to introduce a new life



among men by direct spiritual contact with himself, the fountain of all life; to beget, like a second Adam, by his quickening Spirit, a spiritual race that should be perpetuated by his Spirit to the end of the world?

With what tenderness and patience did Christ's love hover over the apostles. With what untiring assiduity was infused into their bosoms that inner life of the soul which has been the unchanging inheritance of the church in all time since. That life the apostles conveyed to their successors, who again transmitted it to others, and these to others still; a true spiritual lineage—the only apostolic succession known in the Bible—thus being kept incorruptible among the people of God.

And in this way has the gospel always been propagated. It has been by contact of soul with soul. And in this way must its propagation continue. He who would seek the salvation of the dead in sin, must do as did Elisha by the dead son of the Shunamite; "put his mouth upon his mouth, his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands." The "shrine" of the Spirit is in man, not in the Bible or in books. The Bible and books may be instruments in the Spirit's hands, but not its chief instruments, nor such as it will employ without the use of an intermediate agency. It is man whom the Spirit uses for the exertion of his power on man. It is by the spirit of man that he will act on the spirits of men. Hence the command, "Go, preach."

The press has its service to render in the kingdom of Christ, but a service that is always subordinate to that of the living ministry. We hear much in our day of the power—the "*omnipotence*," of the press; we hear much ascribed to the press which can be warranted neither by Scripture, by facts, nor by common sense. The world is not to be converted by steam presses. Space (as the hyperbole is) may be "annihilated" by steam, but not human depravity. You may cover the whole heathen world with printed pages of the Bible, and of religious tracts and treatises, and yet, without the presence of living Christians, the nations be as ignorant of practical redemption by Jesus Christ, as they are at this moment while hurrying amid the dew and sunlight of their early morning, with offerings to idols which their own hands have made. There were Bibles and religious books enough in Geneva when Haldane first visited it, but no life in the church there till he carried it. And it may be questioned whether those among the heathen who are said to have become new creatures in Christ from the mere reading of the Bible, have not had presented to them in some form, either in person or by oral description of

living witnesses, the realized idea of the living Christian man. But it is beyond a question true that no people has ever yet been evangelized by any instrumentality whatever, short of the personal agency of the living ministry; without the presence of the only shrine of the acting, speaking, sympathizing Holy Spirit. It is not the word that is the light or the salt of the earth, but the church.

And need I tarry here to inquire if this office of the church is as clearly perceived and as vividly realized in our day, as its relation to Christ and the world would require? May I not ask if that motto of Protestants, so often on our lips—the Bible the religion of Protestants—is not in danger of degenerating into another—the Bible the Church of the Protestants? May I not ask if Bible societies, and societies for the publication of tracts and books, useful and indispensable as they may be, are not in danger of being put in the place of the church? God forbid that one syllable be uttered by me to lessen our reverence for the Bible. But God equally forbid that we be left to the foolish attempt to transfer from ourselves to the Bible those offices which the Bible can perform only through the spirits of men. I love the Bible more than language can express. I reverence it more than I can tell, as the only inspired word of the one living and true God; but it is because I thus love and reverence it, that I would not see it thrust unaccompanied into the world, with the vain expectation of its fulfilling that command which has been addressed to the church only, “Go ye, and preach the gospel to every creature.”

It is, then, by the contact of a living church with the dead world, that the world is to be saved. And especially is it by the voice of the church in the proclamation of the gospel from the tongue of her living ministry, that the world is to be aroused from its death-sleep and made acquainted with its Redeemer. Such is the divine appointment. The all-quickenings Spirit, appropriating and sanctifying to Himself every attribute of the soul He renews, employs each and all in the furtherance of His purposes; but His chosen method is, to make His way from heart to heart through that mightiest instrument of man—his “chief glory”—the tongue. Yet not the tongue as the servant of his own reason, and the herald of his own imaginings, but the faithful expounder of the teachings of Christ.

It is not by the arguments, nor by the eloquence of man, that the Spirit does His work. It has not often been that the mighty men of eloquence have been the mighty men of God. God, in olden time, gave not His glory to graven

images, neither now does He give it to ideal idols. He will not suffer the glory of His grace to be dimmed.

Eloquence delights in the outward and the objective. It revels in the dramatic and the picturesque. It assails the outer man, and carries by storm, and with ease, its entire line of defense; but to unlock the door of the inner sanctuary, and kindle a new fire on the altar of the heart, is not within the range of its power. The converting Spirit is not in the fire, nor the wind, nor the earthquake, but in the still small voice.

The tongue which the Spirit most honors and ever delights to employ, is his whose heart knows by experience the power and saving efficacy of the doctrines he preaches. It is not the tongue which, parrot-like, glibly prates other men's thoughts and experiences, or echoes the contents of "Pulpit Encyclopedias," and "Assistants," and "Manuals." If there be any one practice, among preachers, more belittling to the mind, more disgraceful to the ministerial profession, and more dishonoring to the office of the Holy Spirit, than any other, it is that of relying, in preparations for the pulpit, on those misnamed "Assistants," which the greed of compilers and publishers is so liberally supplying, and the shameless indolence of too many pastors is so readily seizing. Preaching, if it is to avail anything, must come from the depths of the heart. No man can preach a doctrine effectively, till in himself he has felt its power. He must know whereof he affirms; he must so believe that he can not but speak. The pent-up fire must blaze out in spite of himself. The doctrines of his creed must possess and sway him as an irresistible, though invisible agency. With such an experience, preaching can not but be effective. And how can such experience be so readily attained, and the gospel thus effectively diffused, as by the study of Christian doctrines in the manner that has been advocated?

And where, let me ask, in conclusion of these thoughts, shall the fittest place and most favoring circumstances for this mode of study be found, if not in a Theological Seminary? Shall it be in the active ministry, where the ever-widening fields and ever-whitening harvest beckon the reaper to redouble his energy; in the pastoral office, whose never-ending duties leave little leisure, to inexperienced minds, for that calm study of the Bible and its doctrines, so requisite to ministerial success? Is it not rather in the place, where, with congenial minds to sympathize, and associations and duties to stimulate, the youthful preacher can study, not so much for the sermon of the coming sabbath, as for the great work of his whole after life.



ART. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

(1.) THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

*Lectures on the Truth of the Bible.* By ELI NOYES, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853. 12mo. pp. 364.

AT a time when scepticism is so active, and so much is done to popularize and diffuse it among the people, as at present, there is a peculiar fitness in the publication of a work like the one before us. Dr. Noyes is known as a ripe Biblical scholar, and as quite familiar with the ancient languages and literature. He has also made himself acquainted with the established results of geology, ethnology and other natural sciences bearing more directly on the credibility of the sacred Scriptures. And in the volume before us he has embodied the fruit of his researches in a form at once scholarlike and simple. He appears to have aimed at writing on subjects somewhat abstruse in a way that a child might understand. His illustrations of such subjects as the origin of man's religious ideas, and the relations of geology to revelation, may be instanced as models of simplicity and cogency. We regret to find, however, that one or two points which should not have been omitted in such a treatise, have been overlooked by Dr. Noyes. He says nothing in reference to the canon of the Scriptures. He does not even allude to the fact that there has ever been a question started as to what constitutes the Holy Scriptures. Though the evidences of inspiration are glanced at incidentally in the proofs afforded of the credibility of the Scriptures, there is not only no attempt to define its character, but no allusion to it even. The question in reference to which minds of sceptical tendencies now most need light is, in what sense the Scriptures are inspired of God. Though this question could not have been discussed at any great length, in such a work as the one before us, we think all allusion to it should not have been omitted in a popular discussion of Bible evidences. We also regret that Dr. Noyes, being himself disabled by illness, did not employ some competent friend to read his proofs. It is exceedingly unpleasant to find proper names as well as common words misspelled in so many instances. Wicliffe is repeatedly spelled *Wicklief*, Rosenmueller is spelled *Rosinmueller*, &c. We have hinted at these matters because they are worthy of the author's attention, should he issue a new edition, which we hope may be the case. The book is a valuable one, and is well-timed.

*The Difficulties of Infidelity.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B. D. To which is added Modern Infidelity considered. By ROBERT HALL, A. M. New York. W. Gowans. 1853. 12mo. pp. 316.

This volume which Mr. Gowans has issued in his usual superior style, will be hailed by the religious public in this country with lively satisfaction. The design of the author is not so much to demonstrate the truth of Christianity as

to illustrate the impossibility of infidelity. His success in showing that the rejection of Christianity is most absurd and irrational, is complete. Mr. Gowans has also enriched the volume by adding Mr. Hall's masterly discourse on Modern Infidelity. The volume concludes with a catalogue, running through thirty closely printed pages, of works relating to the evidences of Christianity, which is by itself a very interesting and useful feature.

*A Dictionary of the most important Names, Objects and Terms found in the Holy Scriptures.* Designed principally for Sunday Schools and Bible Classes, and as an aid to Family Instruction. By HOWARD MALCOM, D. D. With numerous illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: L. Colby & Co. 1853. 16mo. pp. 336.

This is a new and enlarged edition of a work which has long been held in high estimation among our churches. Its value is greatly enhanced by the careful revision to which the author has subjected it, and the numerous additions which he has made to it. It is invaluable as a book of reference in the Sabbath school and in the family. We know of no volume which compresses so much that is useful in so small space.

*The Bible in the Counting-House: A Course of Lectures to Merchants.* By H. A. BOARDMAN, D. D. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 420.

It is difficult to realize the increase of trade and commerce in this country, and the consequent numerical increase of the mercantile profession. The leading minds, both in the church and the state, are beginning to be aware of the wonderful expansion which has been going on during the last few years; and they are becoming conscious of the influence which commerce is exerting, not only on the general policy of government, but on the character and activities of the Christian church. It is generally conceded that commerce has no place for the humanities, and that all the canons of commercial morality lie within the circle which includes pecuniary and personal interests. The Exchange is deaf, and blind, and dead to everything except what relates to the gains of trade. And the men who preside here are the real rulers of the world. We think that our religious teachers have not been sufficiently awake to the influence—the generally pernicious influence of commerce on the moral sense and religious spirit of the people. We presume that many pastors in our large commercial cities have occasionally directed the thoughts of their hearers to the relations of Christianity and trade. But aside from Dr. Chalmers' well known "Commercial Discourses," we do not now think of a publication directed to this point, previous to the one before us. Dr. Boardman has performed a very timely work in a very worthy manner. The tone of his lectures is eminently conservative, but he maintains the standard of Christian morality without abatement. He makes no concessions to fraud or selfishness. He urges on the consciences of men engaged in commercial pursuits the duties of integrity, prudence and benevolence. He shows how the gospel is adapted to correct the evils of trade, to preserve its votaries from the dangers to which they are exposed, and how it invariably secures the best in-

terests of all who consent to be governed by its precepts. He also illustrates the awful consequences of refusing to regulate the transactions of mercantile life by the word of God. We thank Dr. Boardman for his timely and able publication, and bespeak for it a wide circulation.

*The Way of Peace.* By HENRY A. ROWLAND. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 16mo. pp. 288.

Mr. Rowland has appeared before the public on former occasions very much to his own credit, and to the advantage of community. The readers of his former volumes will be glad to avail themselves of this, in which he illustrates the blessedness of a life of holiness.

*Open Communion; or the principles of Restricted Communion examined, and proved to be false, in a series of letters to a Friend.* By S. W. WHITNEY, A. M. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 18mo. pp. 159.

Mr. Whitney was formerly, we believe, in the communion of the Presbyterian church, but was a few years since baptized by Rev. Dr. Dowling, into the fellowship of the Berean Baptist Church in New York. We infer from the publication of the book before us that our good brother was a little premature in taking that step, or that his mind has undergone a reaction since. If he entertained the views which he has set forth in this volume, at the time of his baptism by Dr. Dowling, there was little to justify a change in his ecclesiastical connections. To be sure he may have felt a desire to receive the rite of baptism in a scriptural manner. But if he really believed that the whole validity of the act resides in the honesty of the subject, and that the form does not affect the essence of the thing, we can not see why his own baptism was not a superfluous piece of folly, if nothing worse. There are certainly "honest professors of Christianity except Baptists," and we charitably hope that Mr. Whitney was one of them, while in his former church relations. But we think he errs when he allows that those whose views, from whatever cause, whether it be inattention, prejudice, interest or party spirit, are different from what the Scriptures plainly teach, are equally acceptable to God. He assumes that persons who have been sprinkled have acted in the spirit of obedience, and have consequently substantially met the divine requirement. In this respect, therefore, he adopts the old heresy that it is no matter what a man believes and does, if he is only sincere. The notions of the individual are, to him, the measure of right. Now what would be the consequence of carrying this idea into the entire field of religious opinion and practice?

But Mr. Whitney's open communion, of which he gives us such glimpses in the passages to which we have alluded above, becomes somewhat narrowed after all. Even with him a man must have some better warrant for the communion of the Lord's Supper than the claim, or the fact, that he is a believer in Christ. He strangely enough insists on a public profession of Christianity as a condition. He says: "With non-professors, *even though they may be believers*, the communion question has nothing to do." p. 38



And if our readers can credit such fatuity, our author goes on to admit that *de jure* a profession of Christianity, such as he insists on as a prerequisite to the communion, can be made only by the immersion of the confessor in the name of Christ. His words are : "I concur with you fully in the persuasion that the Scriptures, correctly interpreted and properly understood, require every individual, on making a profession of Christianity, to do it by being immersed in the name of Christ, or of the Trinity ; and that if any had refused to do this in the apostles' days, when there was no difference of opinion about what Baptism was, or who its subjects were, *he would not have been a lawful subject for communion.*" p. 48. Here then is a full and unreserved concession of the principle of strict communion, as it is held by our churches ; and that too from a man who claims to have "proved" that principle to be "unscriptural and false."

Now the question arises, What makes that which would have been wrong in the apostles' days, in this matter, right now ? If a refusal to receive the ordinance of baptism under the conditions, and in the form prescribed by Christ, was a bar to the communion table then, why is it not so now ? Or, in other words, if the immersion of a believer was a prerequisite to the communion in the days of the apostles, why is it not a prerequisite now ? These are questions which Mr. Whitney can not answer, on his own admissions, without subjecting himself to the reprehension, not to say contempt, of all right-minded men. The claim which is substantially set up in the above extract is, that because men have perverted and covered up the law of Christ, they are to be not only excused, but justified for disobeying it. Let men change the law of God, ignore or deny it, and, forsooth, its claims upon them must be remitted !

But we have dwelt longer on this book than its merits deserve. It is all adrift in its notions about the church, is filled with contradictions such as we have noticed, and is to the last degree ill-digested and illogical. We bear the writer no enmity, but, on the other hand, wish him well. He ought to have known that he would gain nothing in the estimation of Pedo-Baptists, by the course which he has taken. They regard immersion as the essential heresy of the Baptists. With scarcely an exception, they will say to Mr. Whitney, 'With your views on the subject of baptism, your notions of the communion question are inconsistent and illogical.' Indeed, after all that they have said against us in this respect, they regard the question as practically of very little moment. The different branches of the Pedo-Baptist church rarely, if ever, commune together. We know of members of Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches who have lived side by side for a quarter of a century, and have never inter-communed. And after all their professed desire to commune with us, we have not the least idea that they would ever avail themselves of the privilege if it were cordially extended to them. In such an event they would berate us as roundly for our inconsistency, as they now do for our illiberality.

*Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress* : The Text divided into chapters, with an Introduction, Index, Notes chiefly selected from Bunyan's own writings, and a

Sketch of the Author's Life. By STEPHEN B. WICKENS. New York : Carlton & Phillips. 1853. 18mo. pp. 478.

The merits of this edition of Bunyan's wonderful dream are set forth in the title-page. The plan is a judicious one, and has been well executed.

*Memoirs of the Rev. George Whitefield.* By Rev. JOHN GILLIES, D. D. Revised and corrected with large additions and improvements. With an Introduction. By C. E. STOWE, D. D. To which is appended an extensive collection of his sermons and other writings. Hartford : E. Hunt & Son. 1853. 8vo. pp. 666.

The life and sermons of such a man as George Whitefield must be acceptable to all evangelical Christians. Dr. Gillies' life of the Reformer has long enjoyed an enviable reputation, and more particularly since the appearance of Mr. Philip's ill-arranged and every way unsatisfactory biography. The sermons contained in this volume consist of the selection approved by Whitefield himself. They are evangelical and able, but the reading of them only excites a question as to the secret of the preacher's wonderful power. This question is very happily answered by Professor Stowe, in the excellent introduction which he has contributed to this edition. The Messrs. Hunt have spared no pains in making this work acceptable to all branches of the great Christian family. They have very judiciously omitted Whitefield's letter to Wesley, contained in former editions, which was not only a source of grief to the followers of that great and good man, but which was more objectionable on account of its influence on the reputation of Whitefield himself. All differences between them have long since been canceled in the intercourse of a purer world, and it is fit that all memorials of them should be forgotten on earth.

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(2.) HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

*Civil Wars and Monarchy in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries : A History of France, principally during that period.* By LEOPOLD RANKE. Translated by M. A. Garvey. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 488.

Professor Ranke stands among the great lights of historical science. His Histories of the Popes, of The Turkish and Spanish Monarchies, and of the Reformation in Germany, have given him a reputation for historical research and skill not surpassed, if, indeed, it is equaled by that of any of his countrymen now living. All the histories of this author have been translated into English, and are counted among the classical productions of the age. It will be seen that in all his works, the historian has confined himself to a single period. All his histories relate to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By thus concentrating his energies, he has been enabled to obtain fuller information, and to set forth his matter in a clearer and much more comprehensive method. The work before us is worthy of the author's reputation. He shows himself thoroughly familiar with his subject, and he discusses it in a vigorous and philosophical manner. He commences with a survey of the

elements of the French nation, the origin of the monarchy, and the relations of the king and his feudatories. He then comes more directly to the theme of his work, by illustrating the religious condition of the kingdom after the reign of Francis the First, and the successive efforts to reform the church, which led to the religious wars, which, with sundry intermissions, desolated the kingdom from 1560 to the death of Henry IV. The work only brings us down to the conversion of Henry to the Catholic faith, but it affords us a clear insight into the religious state of the realm, and suggests the causes which led to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and produced the expulsion of the Huguenots, and finally the Revolution of '89. We have seldom read a historical work with greater pleasure or profit.

*The History of the Inquisition in Spain, from the time of its establishment to the reign of Ferdinand VII.* Abridged and Translated from the original work of D. JUAN ANTONIO LLORENTE, formerly Secretary of the Inquisition, &c. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson. 8vo. pp. 208.

The author of the original work from which this English edition is derived, had rare opportunities of obtaining authentic information in reference to the Inquisition, having had for many years access to its archives. Those who wish to study the history of this awful tribunal, will do well to avail themselves of this cheap and convenient edition.

*Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century.* By G. G. GERVINUS, Prof. Hist. University of Heidelberg. From the German. With a brief notice of the Author. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 137.

This is the work whose recent publication in Germany cost its distinguished author a four months' imprisonment. It is a scientific treatise on the Law of Historical Progress, and the modifications which have resulted from the genius and customs of different races. The author shows that the tendency of civilized society in every age of the world has been to republican and constitutional democracy. In the treatment of his great theme he displays a profoundly philosophical spirit. Considering its character and the source whence it comes, this book is a very significant indication of the current of opinion on the continent of Europe.

*The Boyhood of Great Men.* Intended as an example to youth. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 16mo. pp. 385.

This book contains sketches of the early lives of some of the leading men in the different departments of literature and life. The idea is a happy one and is well carried out.

*The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.* By WILLIAM STIRLING, Author of "The Artists of Spain." Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1853. Small 8vo. pp. 322.

The resignation of the crown of the German Empire by Charles Vth, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, has always been invested with the halo of romance. That a man but little past the prime of life, should voluntarily



surrender the mightiest empire which had been governed by a single hand since the days of Charlemagne, and retire to the cloister, was an occurrence so unusual that it excited universal attention, and occasioned much fulsome and misplaced eulogy. The philosophy, the piety, and the humility of the Emperor were proclaimed in song, and commemorated in story. But the enthusiasm which one feels while reading the old accounts of Charles' freedom from ambition, of his philosophical indifference to station and honor, and his devotion to the concerns of another world, receives a sad shock when we learn, on good authority, that all this sacrifice of station and power was caused by dyspepsia, gout, and resulting hypochondria. It all came of eating too freely and too frequently of highly seasoned food. The hero sinks to the glutton, and the halo of glory vanishes. We are indebted to Mr. Stirling for much valuable information respecting the principles and conduct of the Emperor. Though the author does not treat of the causes which induced Charles to resign his crown, he gives us such glimpses of the habits and condition of the man as to leave no doubt that what we have stated above is true.

The idea that Charles cast off the cares of state during his cloister life at Yuste appears to be a fiction. Mr. Stirling shows us that he was in the daily habit of hearing and dictating dispatches on the foreign and domestic affairs of the government. Indeed, what else could have been expected of a man inured as he had been for forty years and more to state affairs? The view of Charles' character afforded by this volume, differs much from that heretofore inculcated. In many respects the author contradicts the statements of Robertson. His information is doubtless more authentic, though not as flattering to his subject as that which influenced his celebrated countryman. Mr. Stirling has written a valuable book. We may just add that the publishers have issued it in a very engaging style.

*A History of England from the first Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688.* By JOHN LINGARD, D. D. A new edition as enlarged by the author just before his death. In thirteen volumes. Vol. 2. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 360.

Dr. Lingard was an able, patient, and, as far as such a quality is attainable by a Papist and a schoolman, impartial historian. His history was derived from original sources, and is written with great care. It is the only connected history of England we have by a modern author, during the first sixteen centuries of the Christian era. We rejoice to see this republication of so valuable a work.

*Father Gavazzi's Lectures in New York, reported in full by T. C. Leland.* Also the Life of Father Gavazzi, corrected and authorized by himself. New York: De Witt & Davenport. 1853. 12mo. pp. 300.

The general tone of Gavazzi's lectures is well expressed by his own declaration contained in his farewell address: "My mission is for war, and shall be war,—war against the dignitaries, war against the terrors, war against the superstitions of the Papist system." Let those who deprecate his spirit con-

sider what he has seen and felt of the abominations of the system which he denounces, and learn charity.

*Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers.* By DIOGENES LAERTIUS. Literally translated by C. D. YONGE, B. A. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 488.

The author of these notices of the Greek philosophers is supposed to have written near the end of the second century. His work is essential to the study of the History of Greek Philosophy. It is, in fact, the basis of nearly all the modern treatises on that subject. Beside the aid it affords in the study of the Greek philosophy, it throws important light on the social life of the Greeks, introducing us to their every day walks, and domestic and conventional customs.

*The Chronicle of Henry of Huntington:* Comprising the History of England from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the accession of Henry II. Also, [the Acts of Stephen, king of England. Translated and edited by THOMAS FORRESTER, A. M. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 442.

This work is mostly a compilation from the old English chronicles by a learned man of the twelfth century. Henry of Huntington was more than an ordinary man. He united the characters of historian, poet and moralist. The seventh and eighth books of the Chronicle relate events which he vouches for, either from his own knowledge or from cotemporaneous testimony. He frequently intersperses his narrative with poems, which are by no means contemptible. His letter to Walter is a fine piece of moralizing on the vanity of the world. The addition of the work entitled, "The Acts of King Stephen," greatly enhances the value of the volume. The editor has contributed a valuable historical and critical preface, besides translating and editing the work. He has performed his part in a very able manner.

*The Successful Merchant: Sketches of the Life of Mr. Samuel Budgett, late of Kingswood Hill.* By WILLIAM ARTHUR, A. M. New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1853. 16mo. pp. 411.

Mr. Budgett was a man of humble origin, who by dint of industry and native force of character, reached the highest point of commercial life. What is remarkable, his business arrangements were always made subservient to the cause of evangelical religion. He exemplified the maxim of Paul: "Diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." Mr. Arthur has taken occasion to connect with a brief notice of his life and character, some very sound and much-needed reflections on the moral dangers of the mercantile profession. We commend his suggestions, as well as the example of the good man who is commemorated in his pages, to the careful study of our merchantile readers.

*The Village Blacksmith; or Piety and Usefulness exemplified in a Memoir of the Life of Samuel Hick.* By JAMES EVERETT. New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1853. 18mo. pp. 352.

This is an account of a man of a different stamp from Mr. Budgett. He

was one of the Boanerges of the earlier days of Methodism in England. His life shows us how much earnest piety can accomplish. The work deserves the great popularity it enjoys.

*Life and Letters of Stephen Olin, D. D., LL. D., late President of Wesleyan University.* 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. Small 8vo. pp. 361. 486.

Dr. Olin was no ordinary man. To great native endowments he added careful and laborious culture. Originally an Episcopalian, he became a Methodist from the conviction that the Methodists would bear "plainer and more pointed preaching than Episcopalians will hear," and that he might thus be instrumental of saving a greater number of souls. He was a large-minded, liberal man. Rev. Dr. Manly records in these volumes an instance of magnanimity which does him infinite credit, both as a man and as a Christian. Men of all shades of theological belief have united to commend the largeness of his soul, as well as the strictness of his piety. No one can read these memorials of his life without receiving a deep and strong impression of his Christian and manly character. The work before us is very well executed on the whole, though some confusion will be likely to arise from the arrangement of the letters. For instance, vol. i., p. 73, we learn that the writer has decided to leave the Episcopalians and to become "a Methodist and a Methodist Minister," while on p. 75 we find him talking of "studying theology at an Episcopal Seminary, established or to be established at New York or New Haven." The difficulty is all removed by looking at the dates of the letters, the first bearing date September 19th, 1822, and the second, Feb. 18th, the same year. It strikes us it would have been better to have arranged these letters in chronological order. They would have told their story in a much more satisfactory way. On the whole, we can cheerfully commend these volumes. They are a valuable addition to the stock of religious and ministerial biography.

*William Cary: A Biography.* By JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D. Philadelphia: Am. Bap. Pub. Soc. New York: L. Colby & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 306.

Dr. Belcher has entitled himself to the thanks of the Christian public by the preparation of this convenient volume. Such a popular account of the life and labors of the Father of English Baptist missions has long been needed. We do not depreciate the value of the excellent biography of Rev. Eustace Carey, the nephew of Dr. Carey, when we say that it is not well adapted for the masses. It is too voluminous, and though accurate, is too heavy for general use. This portable and well-digested memoir by Dr. Belcher is derived mainly from the work of Mr. Carey, though the author has availed himself of such additional material as the intervening years have furnished. We commend this work to our readers, praying that it may deepen the missionary spirit in our churches.

*The Life of Lady Jane Gray.* By DAVID W. BARTLETT. Auburn: Derby & Miller. 1853. 16mo. pp.

Mr. Bartlett is a pleasing writer, and he evinces great care in sifting evi-



dence and arranging his matter. He has told the tragic and deeply interesting story of the accomplished person whose memoir is contained in this volume, in a very successful manner. For a popular account of the Lady Jane's life, we know of nothing that is equal to it.

*Personal Sketches of his own Times.* By Sir JONAH BARRINGTON. New York: Redfield. 1853. 12mo. pp. 540.

We have found these sketches, though sometimes too free with moral distinctions, and always verging too nearly on garulousness, vastly entertaining. They relate to a great number of topics, and afford many personal and historical side-lights of great value. They cover a period of sixty years; that is, from 1755 to 1815, the most important in the history of Ireland, and indeed, of modern Europe. If Sir Jonah was not so much blinded by his antipathies to Great Britain, as to make him unjust, her policy in reference to France and Napoleon, deserves all the odium which the latter have attempted to excite against it. His notices of the "Great Duke" are by no means flattering to the social and moral character of the latter. The book deals freely in unfavorable judgments of popular idols; and hence, according to Dr. Johnson's well known maxim, ought to be popular.

*A Memorial of Horatio Greenough,* consisting of a Memoir, selections from his writings, &c. By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 245.

All lovers of American art and admirers of American genius, must deplore the early death of the sculptor Greenough. His only fitting memorial must be sought in the productions of his chisel. Still we are glad to obtain this volume. It presents a brief history of the artist's life, with valuable selections from his writings.

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### (3.) GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century.* A Series of Lectures. By W. M. THACKERAY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo pp. 297.

This volume contains the lectures which Mr. Thackeray has recently been delivering in some of our principal cities. These judgments on the leading English humorists of the eighteenth century, by one of the most distinguished wits of the nineteenth, must be interesting, from the relation of the author to the branch of literature under review. We have read Mr. Thackeray's Lectures, and, in the main, have been pleased with them. His sketches of the lives of Swift and Congreve; especially his sharp criticism on the platitudes and immoralities of the latter, show that he is not disposed to flatter his subjects, nor to mitigate their frailties. In reference to Swift, we have always regarded him as the victim of a partial insanity. The deep clouds which gathered about the evening of his days, were but the accumulated shadows which had obscured his magnificent intellect during the greater part of his life. We see nothing in Mr. Thackeray's lecture to shake this belief,

but much to confirm it. We think, therefore, that the lecturer is rather severe on "the great Dean." His notices of Addison, Goldsmith and others, are in the finest vein imaginable. The book is full of entertainment and instruction.

*The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* With an Introductory Essay upon his Philosophical and Theological Opinions. Edited by Prof. SHEDD. In seven volumes. Vol. vi. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. pp. 528.

This volume of the writings of Coleridge, contains his celebrated Essay on the "Church and State," and the "Table Talk." The Essay on "Church and State," is one of the most elaborate of the author's productions, and displays in a remarkable degree, the keenness of his analysis, and the subtlety of his distinctions. We have not the time to inquire how far the idea of Church and State, set forth by the philosopher, answers to the Church and State of England, as it really is. We can only say that liberal as he is, his views will scarcely find acceptance in this country. The Table Talk is full of pithy sayings, and might suffice to furnish an ordinary man with more ideas than he could master for a quarter of a century. This volume is the last of the prose writings. We again commend this edition of Coleridge as the most convenient that has been published.

*The Politics and Economics of Aristotle,* translated, with Notes original and selected, and Analysis. With an Introductory Essay and Life of Aristotle. By Dr. Gillies. By EDWARD WALFORD, A. M. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brother & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 338.

This is the third volume of Bohn's edition of the works of the great Stagite. We are glad to see this excellent translation of the political philosophy of one of the greatest men of antiquity. It is wonderful to see how little advance the world has made in the science of government since his day. The volume is edited in an admirable manner, and is accompanied by a carefully prepared analysis, which contributes to a clearer understanding of the work.

*Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio.* Auburn: Derby & Miller. 1853. 12mo. pp. 400.

Mrs. Farrington, who writes under the nom du plume of "Fanny Fern," is the sister of N. P. Willis, and exhibits considerable of that sprightliness and grace of style, as well as the exquisite pathos which have secured so much eclat for the latter. Some of her fragments are very beautiful, and nearly all are fraught with good lessons and quaint fancies.

*Essays for Summer Hours.* By CHARLES LANMAN. Third edition revised. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 16mo. pp. 266.

This little volume contains a series of well-written sketches and meditations adapted to summer hours. We have read several of these graceful effusions, and take pleasure in commending the volume to our readers.

*The Poetical Works of John Milton,* With a Life of the Author, Preliminary Dissertations, Notes, Critical and Explanatory, an Index to the subjects of

*Paradise Lost*, and a verbal Index to all the Poems. Edited by CHARLES DEXTER CLEAVELAND. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1853. Small 8vo. pp. 688.

Mr. Cleaveland has exercised vast industry, guided by good taste, in editing this edition of Milton. The notes contain the cream of the Poet's annotators, and the indices are remarkably full and accurate.

*Home Pictures.* By MARY ANDREWS DENISON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 417.

This volume contains the diary of an imaginary lady, from "blushing sixteen" up to mature life. It illustrates in a very vivid manner, the vicissitudes of fortune, the dangers of fashionable life, and the value of correct moral principles in prosperous and adverse circumstances. Its lessons are salutary, and it leaves a pleasing impression on the heart of the reader.

*The Old House by the River.* By the Author of "The Owl Creek Letters." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 318.

The volume whose title we have here given is composed of those pleasing, racy sketches of rural and forest life, in which our literature is becoming so rich. It is a very attractive book, and will amply repay a reading.

*The Principles of Courtesy*, With Hints and Observations on Manners and Habits. By GEORGE WINFRED HERVEY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 300.

By inadvertence we have omitted to speak of this excellent manual before. We can assure our readers that the work merits something better than neglect. It will materially assist young people in the formation of proper manners and habits. The author writes in a clear and methodical style, and his pages are impregnated with Christian sentiments. The obligations of Christian courtesy need to be more clearly understood, and more fully admitted. We commend Mr. Hervey's book to our readers, in the hope that it may contribute to secure such a result.

*The Poetical and Dramatic Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. pp. 702.

This volume is the seventh and last of the Harpers' noble edition of Coleridge's works. It contains his poems and translations from the German of Schiller. It is needless to speak of the merits of Coleridge's poetry. It is enough to say that this edition of his poetical works is the best that has been issued from the American press.

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(4.) TRAVELS.

*Narrative of a Journey round the World.* By F. GERSTAECKER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 624.

The work whose title we have given above furnishes a very life-like picture of a passage across the Andes in the winter, of life in the gold mines of Cali-



fornia and Australia, of scenery and life in the South Sea Islands, Java and Japan, besides giving some inklings of whaling experiences. The writer describes the somewhat primitive modes of life of the Sandwich Islanders, with a rather free pencil, and has mentioned some incidents which might have been omitted without depriving the world of any useful information. We have nevertheless been delighted with his sprightly narrative. We are glad to find here a recognition of the superior value of a Christian faith, as in the contrast presented by the author in pages 596, 597. The book is a very entertaining one, and contains much information.

*Travels in Egypt and Palestine.* By J. THOMAS, M. D. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 174.

Dr. Thomas visited Palestine in the spring of 1852. Though the lands traversed by him have often been described, his little book is not without interest. It contains enough that is novel to recommend it to the attention of the reading public.

*The Pedestrian in France and Switzerland.* By GEORGE BARRELL, Jr. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 312.

This book contains a quaint but racy description of the people and scenery of the countries through which the author traveled. We are presented not only with what he saw, but also with what he heard. Many of his encounters are rich scenes, and afford quite ludicrous views of the character, habits and ideas of the author's *confrères*.

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(5.) SCIENTIFIC AND EDUCATIONAL.

*Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburg University.* Arranged and edited by O. W. WIGHT. For the use of Schools and Colleges. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 530.

Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy we apprehend has not yet been given to the world. All that he has published is of a fragmentary character. His Dissertations and Notes accompanying the last edition of Reid on the Intellectual Powers, and two or three critiques on philosophical questions, contributed to the pages of the Edinburg Review, comprise all that he has published on this subject. We suppose Sir William has a system of philosophy, probably contained in the lectures which he delivers to his classes in the university. When these lectures are properly matured and published, the world will, doubtless, have something which we shall be entitled to call his philosophy. We think that the title of this book is a misnomer, therefore. Still, it is a valuable collection of philosophical writings, and is worthy of the attention of those who have taste and leisure for speculative inquiries. Mr. Wight has arranged these fragments in a very lucid manner, and has, in fact, brought them into a very satisfactory system, as far as they go. The author is a scholar of vast attainments, and a critic of wonderful acuteness. Those

who take up this volume will be glad to find that it is Sir William that speaks. The editor has done nothing more than to arrange what the former has furnished. We hail this volume with joy, and hope for still better things to come. There is, in these writings, a vast promise. Will it ever be fulfilled?

We ought perhaps to add the Messrs. Harpers have in press and will issue in a short time, "Discussions on Philosophy, and University Reform," with an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Dr. Turnbull, of Hartford, Conn.

*A Manual of Elementary Geology: or the Ancient Changes of the Earth and its inhabitants, as illustrated by Geological Monuments.* By Sir CHARLES LYELL, M. A., F. R. S., &c. Illustrated with five hundred wood cuts. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 512.

It were an uncalled for task to write a critical notice of a work which has been so long before the world as this celebrated "Manual." It has long since taken its place as a scientific treatise at the head of works of its class. The present edition is an exact reprint of the fourth English edition, page for page. It is printed on fine paper, and is in all respects equal to Murray's edition.

*A Second Book in Latin, containing Syntax, and Reading Lessons in Prose.* With imitative exercises and a vocabulary. By JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 296.

We have not seen Dr. McClintock's "First Book in Latin," and we can not speak, therefore, of that and the one before us as comprising an elementary course in Latin. The present volume contains the rules of syntax, and a judicious selection of reading lessons from Cicero and Cæsar, besides the usual notes, the imitative exercises and vocabulary. This book is well adapted to those who have mastered the Latin Grammar.

*Readings in Zoology,* designed for the use of Institutions of learning and for the general reader. By J. L. COMSTOCK, M. D. New York: Newman & Ivison. 1853.

This volume comprises the first part of a course which the veteran author intends to publish on Natural History. Part 1 treats of Mammalia and Birds. It is well executed and contains more than 200 illustrative engravings.

NOTE.—We are assured on unquestionable authority, that the work noticed in our last issue, entitled "A Statement of the Trinitarian Principle," was not written by one of the Beecher family. We could scarcely believe that such was the fact; but our information was so direct and explicit that we felt justified in making the suggestion. We very cheerfully make the correction.

## ART. IX.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

[We are compelled to omit the greater part of the matter prepared for this department of the Review for want of room.]

G. P. Putnam & Co. New York, announce as nearly ready for publication, the following, among other works: Tschudi on the Antiquities of Peru. Translated by the Rev. Dr. Hawks. With numerous illustrations.—Narrative of a Visit to Europe in 1850–51. By Professor Silliman, of Yale College. 2 vols. 12mo. With illustrations.—Outlines of Comparative Philology. With a Sketch of the Languages of Europe, arranged upon Philologic Principles, and a brief History of the Art of Writing. By Prof. Schele de Vere, of the University of Virginia.—The Homes of American Statesmen. A companion volume to The Homes of American Authors. Illustrated.—Addison's Complete Works; comprising the whole contents of Bp. Hurd's edition, with Preliminary Essay, by T. B. Macaulay, and numerous works of Addison now first collected. Edited with additional notes, by Prof. Geo. W. Greene. Uniform with Prior's Goldsmith. 4 vols. large 12mo.—Life of Talleyrand, with Extracts from his Letters and Speeches.

J. S. Redfield New York, has issued the 2d volume of a new edition of Shakspeare, to be completed in 8 vols. 16mo. It is nearly uniform with the celebrated Chiswick Edition, and contains the emendations found in the Folio of 1632 now in the possession of J. Payne Collier, Esq. This edition is superior to the English in that it indicates the places where corrections are made, and gives the former readings in the margin. This, we believe, will prove the best edition of Shakspeare ever issued from the press.

The same enterprising publisher has also issued "The Political and Military History of the Campaign of Waterloo," from the French of Jomini, by Lieut. Benet, U. S. A. Among his announcements we find Bruce's "Classical and Historical Portraits," "Moore's Life of Sheridan," and the celebrated work of Ruffini, which has created such a sensation in England, under the title of "Lorenzo Benoni; or Passages in the Life of an Italian." The latter is a work of rare interest.

Ticknor, Reed & Fields, Boston, announce as nearly ready for publication: "Tanglewood Tales," by Nathaniel Hawthorne. "Prior's Life of Edmund Burke." "Memoir of Robert Wheaton." "Six Months in Italy," by George S. Hillard. "Autobiography of Mrs. Mowatt." "Whittier's Prose Works." "De Quincey's Autobiographic Sketches." "Grace Greenwood's Letters from Europe." "Dr. Lowell's Sermons." "Light on the Dark River."

Gould & Lincoln, Boston, will soon publish a "Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases," by Dr. Roget; Archdeacon Hare's "Mission of the Comforter," and "The Priest and the Huguenot," a new work, by Bungener.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. of Boston, have now ready the "Memoir of Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D., the first American Missionary to Burmah." By F. Wayland, D.D. 2 vols. 12mo. They also issue a work by Rev. Edward Beecher, D.D., entitled "The Conflict of the Ages, or the great debate on the Moral Relations of God and Man." The same house have in press, and will issue in a few days, a new work by Rev. Dr. Turnbull, entitled "The Central Power; or Christ in History;" the object of which is to show that all preceding History prepares for the Cross of Christ, and that all succeeding History flows from it, and thus to vindicate the Historical as well as the Supernatural Character of Christianity against the attacks of modern skepticism.

Rev. Albert Barnes has just published his "Notes Critical, Illustrative and Practical, on the Book of Daniel." It is uniform with his Notes on Job, Isaiah, &c., being a duodecimo of about 500 pages.

The American Tract Society have issued the fifth volume of "D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation." It is like the previous volumes now published



by the Society, an exact reprint of the author's authorized edition published in England.

We see it stated that another installment of Macaulay's History of England is in the hands of the printers. If so, it will probably be issued during the present autumn. The third and fourth volumes are said to be occupied with the reign of William and Mary.

"The Dignity of the Ministerial Office," is the title of an excellent discourse, delivered in Tuskagee, Ala., in March last, on the occasion of the ordination of Prof. Archibald J. Battle to the work of the Gospel Ministry, by Rev. H. H. TUCKER. The text is Rom. xi., 13. "I magnify mine office."

We have also received Prof. T. F. CURTIS' Sermon preached in Tuscaloosa, Ala., at the ordination of Rev. J. H. Foster, March 13, 1853. The sermon is a very able exposition of 2 Tim., i., 10, 11.

The Board of the American Home Mission Society have issued in a neat pamphlet of 27 pages the Sermon delivered at Troy in May last by Rev. D. SHEPARDSON of Cincinnati, entitled "The Home Mission Field." We commend the statements and arguments of this discourse to the thoughtful consideration of the American Churches.

Rev. THOMAS H. STOCKTON, of Baltimore, has been delivering a series of discourses on the proposition "That the Bible is the only sensible, infallible, and Divine Authority on Earth." The seventh of the series on "Ecclesiastical Opposition to the Bible," has been published, and we have enjoyed the pleasure of reading it. It gives a very comprehensive survey of the relations of the old Ecclesiastical establishments to the propagation of the Bible, and closes with an earnest appeal for the union of all Christians in the good work.

E. H. Fletcher, of New York, has republished a pamphlet which appeared some time since in England, entitled "The Coming Struggle among the Nations of the Earth." The writer assumes that certain predictions in Daniel and Ezekiel refer to our times, and that we are on the eve of wonderful commotions, which are to end in the destruction of the Anti-Christian and Papal Powers. His speculations are ingenious.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

##### MINISTERS DECEASED.

F. Brabrook, Davenport, Iowa, June 9.	Franklin Snyder, Williamsburg.
Eli Ball, Virginia, July 21.	C. Newton, Worcester, Mass., Aug. 10.
James Johnston, Brooklyn, N. Y., July —.	L. Tucker, Cincinnati, N. Y., Aug. 20.

##### ORDINATIONS.

H. F. Lissford, Salem, Tippah Co., Miss., May 15.	Gilman Stone, Winchester, O., Aug. 3.
James C. Wilson, Cape May, N. J., July 1.	B. P. Ferguson, (Evangelist,) — Ohio.
M. Terwilliger, Nekemi, Wis., July 13.	S. W. Culver, Ontario, Wayne Co. N. Y., Aug. 11.
F. J. Martin, Vernon, Ind., July 17.	A. L. Freeman, Camillus, Onon. Co., N. Y., Aug. 22.
Jas. Thorn, Mannahauken, N. J., July 20.	Ezra S. Gallup, Hamilton, N. Y., Aug. 14.
William F. Parker, New York, July 28.	

##### CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Delhi, Iowa, May 28.	Mt. Vernon, Westchester Co., N. Y., June 2.
Mt. Lebanon, Ala., June 25.	Jennings, Allen Co., O., July 23.
Wilmington, O., Aug. 6.	Delaware, O., Aug. 6.
Ohio City, O., Aug. 18.	Banksville, Conn., Aug. 25.

##### CHURCHES DEDICATED.

Stockton, Cal., May 22.	Dudley St., Roxbury, Aug. —
Kirkersville, O., July 31.	Banksville, Conn., Aug. 25.

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